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ABSTRACT

These materials are designed to be used in a one-semester curriculum program which is linked to topics outlined in the American Issues Forum calendar. It is intended for use at the local level. Volume I, American Society in the Making, examines some of the principal conditions affecting the development of American ideas and institutions. It focuses on the peopling of the North American continent, the changing patterns of the natural landscape, the emergence of a political ideology for a free society, and the formation of a democratic political structure. The issues are discussed in light of their bearing on the United States in 1976. The community leader's source book contains resources related to each topic suitable for discussion, books to review, and an annotated film list. It is arranged according to topics as presented on the calendar from August 31 to December 20, 1975. The newspaper packet, divided into four units corresponding with the student reader and the study guide, includes 18 1,400-word articles with appropriate illustrations and biographies. Examination questions offer objective midterm and final tests for classroom use. These materials can be used in conjunction with the corresponding reader and the study guide. (Author/ND)

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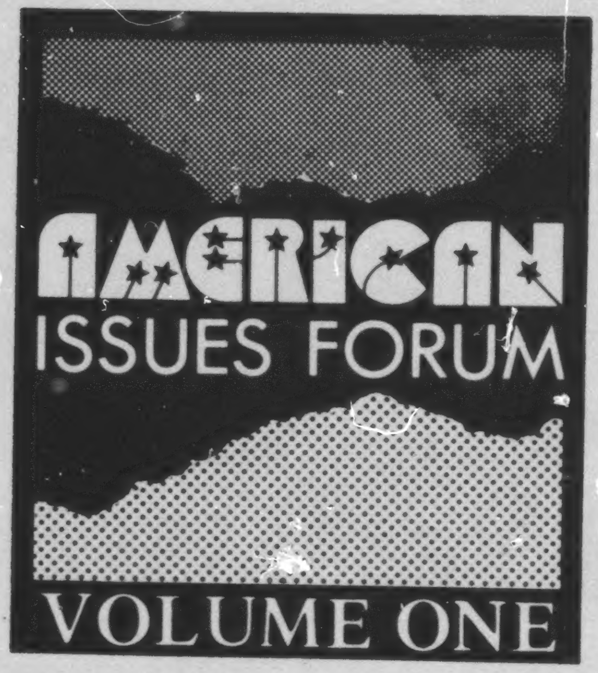
COURSES BY NEWSPAPER

COMMUNITY LEADER'S GUIDE:



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A SOURCE BOOK FOR AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM

A Project of Courses by Newspaper
University of California Extension San Diego
Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities

SO 009 634

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PREFACE

The American Issues Forum is a multi-faceted bicentennial program whose topics are closely attuned to the temper of our times. Its goal is one that many Americans have already privately adopted—an in-depth examination of the fundamental issues confronting the nation today. Its topics are ones that are currently on the minds of all concerned citizens—work, foreign relations, government, land use, and human rights. Its methods of exploring these topics—discussion and debate—are methods rooted in the origins of the country.

Developed under the auspices of the National Endowment for the Humanities and co-sponsored by the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, the American Issues Forum has provided as its format for this timely national debate a calendar of topics that spans the entire bicentennial year. But if it is to succeed, the American Issues Forum must thrive in grass-roots America—in the many thousands of community groups and organizations across the country that are so vital a part of American life.

Courses by Newspaper, which has linked its program this year to the topics outlined in the American Issues Forum calendar, has prepared this book specifically to help enrich discussions of Forum topics at the local level. Its lists of resources and program suggestions are based on the Courses by Newspaper bicentennial program. With the help of this book, your group's discussions of the Forum topics can become meaningful educational experiences for all those involved.

The nation's bicentennial celebration affords Americans an opportunity to pause amidst the onrush of day-to-day events and to expand their perspectives on the past, present, and future of the American way of life. They can attempt to grasp the reality of the American experience, to examine this reality in light of the nation's heritage and hopes, and to formulate goals for America in its third century. It is my hope that all Americans participating in the American Issues Forum during the bicentennial will rediscover an America they can both affirm and renew.

Martin Chamberlain

mmchamberlain

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SECTION I

COURSES BY NEWSPAPER: A CATALYST FOR GROUP PARTICIPATION IN THE AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM

"I know of no way of judging the future but by the past." — Patrick Henry

What is the American Issues Forum?

The American Issues Forum, a national program for the commemoration of the United States bicentennial, is designed to be the catalyst for a serious national debate, a meaningful dialogue, on America as a nation and as a people. All Americans are urged to come together in an exploration of issues fundamental to the past, present, and future of American society. Issues like work. Government. Human rights. Land use. Foreign relations. From this debate, it is hoped, will emerge an understanding of the American experience.

The invitation to participate in the American Issues Forum has been extended to every individual American and to organizations and institutions, both large or small, throughout the country. Groups of every kind—television, radio, and the press; libraries, schools, and colleges; churches and synagogues; labor and professional organizations; corporations and foundations; service clubs and discussion groups; communities, neighborhoods, and families—are using the Forum as a framework for their bicentennial programs.

How does the American Issues Forum work?

The framework for the American Issues Forum is a calendar of nine monthly topics, beginning September 1975 and continuing through May 1976. Optional weekly approaches to each of the nine issues also are suggested.

Beyond the calendar topics, the design of the Forum is up to the participants. Individual groups are encouraged to explore those facets of the topics that seem most relevant to their particular concerns. Questions can be reformulated and discussions enriched to give each topic the attention it deserves.

The primary goal of the Forum, however, is to spark a nationwide discussion of issues that are of fundamental importance to all Americans. To achieve this goal it is useful that all participants agree, at the outset, to address the same general issues at the same time.

Can I get a copy of the American Issues Forum Calendar?

The Public's Calendar, a summary version of the Forum Calendar outlining monthly and weekly topics and including a month-by-month text, will be made available to the general public via a number of leading national magazines. The Public's Calendar is scheduled to appear (in the form of an attractive pull-out insert) in the August/September issues of *Time, Ladies' Home Journal, Ebony, National Geographic, Reader's Digest,* and *Scholastic Magazine*. This version of the calendar is sponsored by Exxon Corporation and represents its contribution to the American Issues Forum.

How can I introduce my group to the American Issues Forum?

A 20-minute, color film documentary, specially designed to introduce interested community organizations and groups to the Forum, has been produced by Screen News Digest/Hearst Metrotone News. This film presents the origins, purpose, and methods of implementation of the Forum. A Summary Calendar/Discussion Guide in brochure form is also available for use with the film.

Community groups may obtain copies of the film and brochure for use free of charge in their programs from State Humanities Committees, State Bicentennial Commissions, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, and the Adult Education Association. Those who wish to purchase the film should contact Martin Kendrick, Director, The Screen News Digest, 235 East 45th Street, New York, New York 10017.

What is Courses by Newspaper?

Courses by Newspaper is a successful experiment in continuing education. For the past two years, Courses by Newspaper has offered college courses for credit with the help of participating newspapers and colleges or universities across the country. Thousands of American newspaper readers have earned valuable college credit, while millions of others, by reading the course lectures in their local papers, have used Courses by Newspaper to broaden their horizons or refresh their knowledge.

Since its origination by the University of California Extension, San Diego, Courses by Newspaper has appeared in more than 300 newspapers across the nation and has been offered for credit by more than 200 colleges and universities.

How does Courses by Newspaper work?

Courses by Newspaper is offered through the cooperation of newspapers and colleges or universities. Each week the newspaper prints articles that are required reading for students enrolled in the course at a participating college or university. At least twice during each 18-week course, students meet in contact sessions with an instructor at their local participating educational institution. When the course is offered for credit, the local college or university determines the number of credits and the requirements for earning those credits.

How is Courses by Newspaper related to the American Issues Forum?

For the bicentennial year, 1975-76, Courses by Newspaper has linked its course articles to the American Issues Forum topics. Beginning in September, a series of thought-provoking articles, written by eleven prominent scholar-writers, will appear in local newspapers throughout the country and will run for a period of thirty-six weeks. Below is an outline of Courses by Newspaper's first 18-week bicentennial course, American Issues Forum I: American Society in the Making.

Article 1 - Introduction: From Centennial to Bicentennial

Daniel Aaron—a Harvard professor who has authored several widely acclaimed studies of writers of the Civil War and Depression.

"A NATION OF NATIONS"

Article 2 - Becoming Americans: The Crux of Unity
Article 3 - Four Centuries of Migrations
Article 4 - Out of Many, One: Patterns of Assimilation
Article 5 - Who Is an American? Reconciling Diversity

John Higham—a professor of history at Johns Hopkins University who is well known for *Strangers in the Land*, a classic book on immigrants in America.

THE LAND OF PLENTY

Article 6 - The Landscape of Status
Article 7 - The Landscape of Privacy
Article 8 - The Landscape of Work
Article 9 - The Landscape of Ecology

John B. Jackson—the former editor and publisher of *Landscape* magazine who is now a lecturer at Harvard and an adjunct professor at the University of California, Berkeley.

"CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS"

Article 10 - Advocacy: Free Speech, Free Assembly
Article 11 - Scrutiny: Freedom of the Press
Article 12 - Privacy: Freedom from Search and Seizure
Article 13 - Equality: Equal Protection Under the Law

Alan Barth—a former prize-winning editorial writer for the *Washington Post* and author of several books on civil liberties.

"A MORE PERFECT UNION":
THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Article 14 - "In Congress Assembled. . .": Congress and the Popular Will
Article 15 - The Evolution of Presidential Power
Article 16 - American Political Parties: Dead or Alive?
Article 17 - Reforming the Government: Now and the Future

Doris Kearns—an associate professor of government at Harvard who served as an aide to former President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Article 18 - Conclusion: American Society—the Future of the Past

Michael Parrish—an associate professor of history at the University of California, San Diego, and author of a book on the New Deal era.

Are there supplementary materials for American Issues Forum I?

A selection of lively and thought-provoking readings that correspond to the topics of the American Issues Forum have been brought together in *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader*, Vol. I. This 400-page book contains personal narratives, fictional pieces, critical essays, poems, documents, and excerpts from major American literary classics. Edited by Daniel Aaron, professor of English and American literature and language at Harvard University and coordinator of Courses by Newspapers's bicentennial course, the book examines some of the key issues affecting the development and evolution of American ideas and institutions.

A companion study guide, *American Issues Forum Study Guide*, Vol. I, containing essays that correspond to the newspaper and reader articles, bibliographies, a summary of key concepts, and suggested discussion questions is also available.

Both *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader*, Vol. I, and the accompanying study guide can be ordered by completing and returning the coupon in the back of this book.

How can I find out if Courses by Newspaper is available in my area?

A list of participating newspapers and colleges is available from Courses by Newspaper, University of California Extension, 4901 Morena Boulevard, Suite 209, San Diego, California 92117.

How do I use Courses by Newspaper in my group's American Issues Forum programs?

Courses by Newspaper can be the catalyst for your group's discussions of the American Issues Forum topics.

In preparation for your group discussions, members can be asked to read the Courses by Newspaper articles at home and to prepare a list of questions or thoughts to bring to the next meeting. These concise articles provide historical perspectives on the issues under consideration; they explore current thinking and opinions on several facets of each issue; and finally, they raise questions about assumptions, traditions, interpretations, and proposals for the future.

For additional perspectives and points of view, *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader*, Vol. I, is an excellent source. Either the entire group can read the relevant selections or one or more members can be asked to read and then summarize them for the rest of the group at your meetings.

Both the newspaper articles and the readings can serve as "take off" points for group discussions during your meetings. When confronting a new issue, you might want to follow a standard procedure: First, consider the historical evolution of the issue; then, react to current thinking on the topic; challenge individual assumptions;

and conclude the discussion by attempting to reach a consensus among your members on a future course.

Consider making tape recordings of these discussions as part of an oral history of your organization's activities. In addition to someday being of historical value to your group, these recordings could also become the basis for future programs. Several years from now, in fact, it might be interesting to see how the passage of time has changed or failed to change your group's points of view on various issues.

As the discussion leader, what can I do to enrich these sessions?

Throughout the discussion, refer to the Courses by Newspaper articles and readings. Read aloud passages that will put the discussion in perspective, introduce a new angle, or raise new questions. In planning your group's discussion sessions, take advantage of *American Issues Forum Study Guide*, Vol. I. Included in it are additional points of view on American Issues Forum topics, a comprehensive bibliography of topic-related books, and suggested discussion questions. (Additional discussion questions can be found in Section II of this book.)

A number of organizations are preparing materials related to American Issues Forum topics that would be suitable as handouts. Materials dealing with the topic to be discussed at the next meeting can be mailed to members along with the meeting announcement or as part of the group newsletter a week or so prior to the actual meeting date. Or they can be distributed to members at the meeting. (Information about these materials and how to obtain them can be found in Section III of this book.)

Articles in popular periodicals on American Issues Forum topics can also be used to enrich group discussions. Included in Section III of this book is a list of magazine articles related to American Issues Forum topics that can generally be found in most public libraries. Copies of these articles can be mailed or distributed at meetings; or they can be reviewed by one or more members in advance of meetings and used to facilitate group discussions.

How can the college or university participating in Courses by Newspaper help?

Your local, participating college or university can provide a wealth of resources that will be useful in planning your American Issues Forum programs. In conjunction with the American Issues Forum and Courses by Newspaper's bicentennial course, many educational institutions will be sponsoring films and/or lecture series on Forum topics; some will be offering special sessions of the Courses by Newspaper class for community groups; and others will schedule open community debates on the Courses by Newspaper articles.

Members who want to broaden their understanding of American Issues Forum topics can enroll in the Courses by Newspaper program, American Issues Forum I, either for credit or non-credit. They might also be encouraged to attend American Issues Forum-related events on campus. As an additional facet of your group's participation in Courses by Newspaper and the American Issues Forum, your group may want to co-sponsor (with a local educational institution) a related event, such as film or lecture series or a community-university debate.

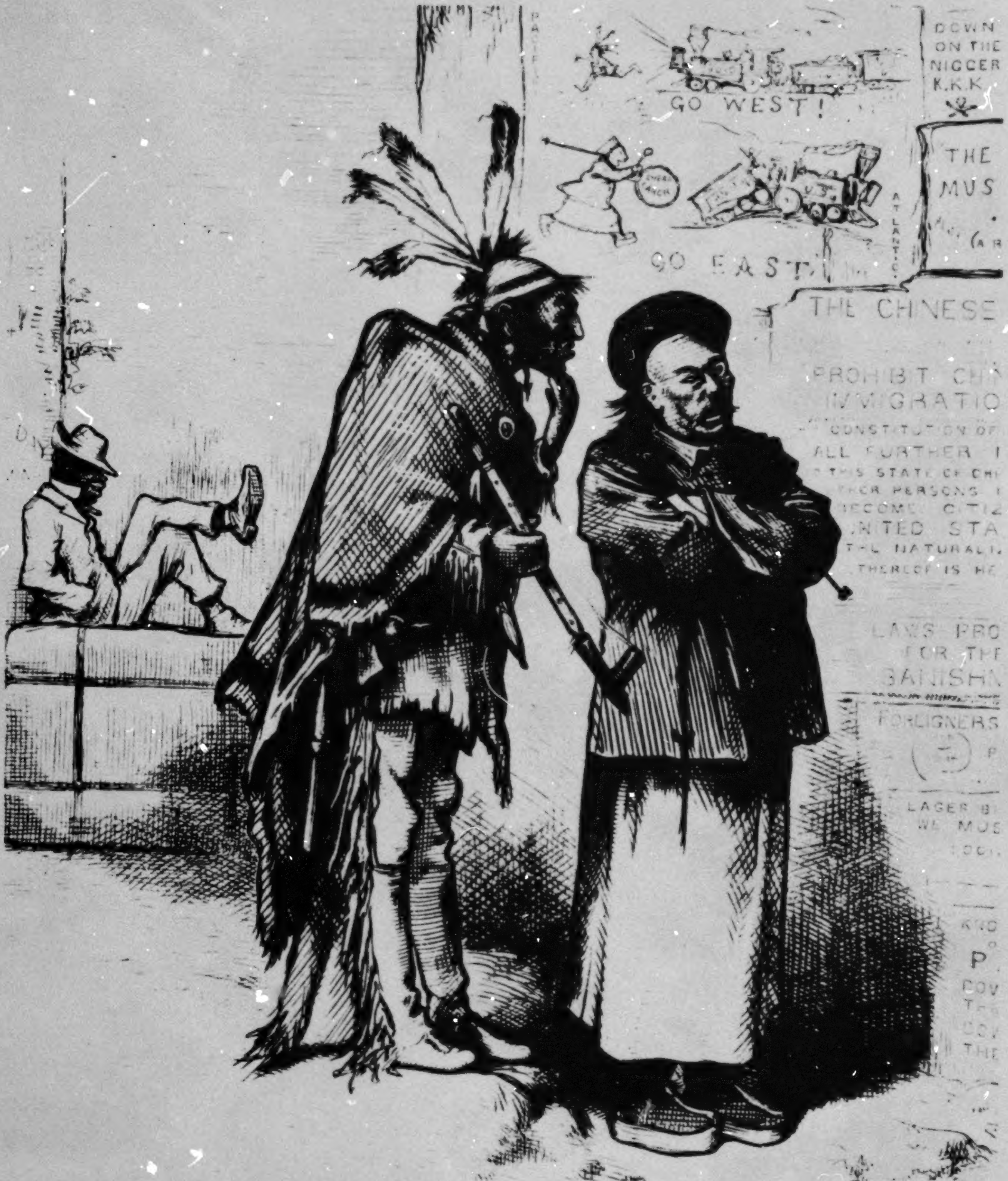
Your local college or university is also an excellent source of guest speakers, resource persons, and discussion leaders. The course instructor or the local continuing education or extension office usually can help you locate the person you are seeking.

What if Courses by Newspaper is not available in my area?

It is still possible to use Courses by Newspaper in your group discussions. Consider subscribing for a few months to a nearby paper that will be carrying the lectures. Or request reprints of the articles from a participating paper.

If for some reason you cannot obtain the course articles, *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader*, Vol. I, and *American Issues Forum Study Guide*, Vol. I, will still be invaluable sources of information about the American Issues Forum topics.

Even though your local college or university may not be participating in Courses by Newspaper, do not hesitate to use campus resources in your program planning. If you are unfamiliar with the instructors or staff, the office of public information generally will be able to assist you.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Cartoonist Thomas Nast comments on the anti-Chinese sentiment of the 1870s.

February 8, 1879

"Every Dog" (No Distinction of Color) "Has His Day."

Red Gentleman to Yellow Gentleman. "Pale face 'fraid you crowd him out, as he did me."

SECTION II
RESOURCES FOR AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM PROGRAMS

Because of their richness—and sometimes controversial nature—each of the Forum topics inevitably suggests an abundance of program ideas; thus, it has been impossible to provide more than a sampling of these ideas in the following pages. It should also be noted that none of the program suggestions included in this book is meant to reflect or condone any one point of view; rather they are designed to provide a framework, or a point of departure, for group discussions and debates. Individual community leaders are strongly encouraged to adapt or modify these suggestions to suit the interests and concerns of his or her particular group.

Suggestions presented for each weekly topic include ideas for films, speakers, debates, surveys, and panel discussions. Also suggested are books to review, articles to read in *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader*, Vol. I, and in popular periodicals, and discussion questions. (Information about how to obtain the suggested audio-visual resources can be found in Section IV.)

"A NATION OF NATIONS"
August 31 through September 27, 1975

"We, the people. . ." These familiar words begin our Constitution. For America is, first of all, a people—a group of peoples, really. "Here is not merely a nation," as Walt Whitman put it, "but a teeming nation of nations." Most nations are organized around a single people, or a particular piece of real estate. Yet America is very much based on an idea, a dream of freedom and well-being that was embraced by men and women of many tongues and traditions. Where did they come from? And what led so many to abandon what was familiar and strike out for what was totally unknown? Was it courage or fear that drove them on? Hope or despair? What sort of people were they to be able to overcome hardship and, in the face of long odds, create a new nation? What kept them together, despite their differences, through Revolution and Civil War, Depression and World War? What keeps us together now? What is the basis of the brotherhood we feel? My neighbors—what makes them different from me and yet similar to me? Are our differences fading as the memory of other lands and other traditions fades? And how are we to answer the questions: "What do I mean when I call myself an American? What do I want out of being an American?"

American Issues Forum
Calendar of Topics

The Founding Peoples
August 31 to September 6

"There were human beings aboard the Mayflower not merely ancestors."
— Stephen Vincent Benet

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Americans Called Indians. D'Arcy McNickle, a member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Montana, chronicles the development of these early Indian cultures.

- "A Hideous and Desolate Wilderness." William Bradford, governor of Plymouth colony for thirty years, describes the voyage of the Pilgrims and their reactions to the New World.

- Paying off the Passage. Gottlieb Mittelberger, a German immigrant, describes his experiences as an indentured servant in the colonies.

- They Came in Chains. Thomas Phillip, commander of a slave ship, recounts his voyage to America with a "black cargo."

- Red, White, and Black. Gary Nash explores the historical origins of the relationships between red, white, and black Americans.

From Popular Periodicals

- A short sketch of the early colonists, "The Makers of America," is found in the July 8, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 26-28).

- The lives and times of colonial women were chronicled by Linda Grant Dupauw in the July 1974 issue of *MS* magazine (pp. 51+). A complete bibliography on colonial women is available from the headquarters of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration in Washington, D.C.

- Volume I of *Ebony* magazine's *Pictoral History of Black America* depicts the wretched lives of the slaves in a series of vivid drawings and photographs.

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* by Eugene Genovese. This work is a reappraisal of the experience of slavery and the adaptation blacks made to it in the southern states in the 19th century.

- *The Indian in American History* by William T. Hagan. This very brief, up-to-date history of the American Indian includes a good bibliography.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List

- *The Mayflower* by Kate Caffrey. The search for religious freedom established a new society. This fresh narrative of a historic voyage covers the experience of the *Mayflower*'s passengers from a point some years before sailing to the New World through the middle of the 17th century.

- *Seedtime of the Republic* by Clinton Rossiter. The American tradition of political liberty came from many sources. Here Rossiter investigates the origin and rise of this tradition, examines the ideas of the great thinkers of the colonial period, and describes the development of political theory between 1765 and 1776.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- What is your definition of the American Dream?
- To what extent is your dream the same as the dream that brought early settlers to America?
- How has the dream evolved—is today's version an extension of the original, or is it merely a parody of it?
- Can we reclaim the wonder that America held for those first settlers?
- How can we explain the fact that slavery and the slaughter of Native Americans existed side by side with the dream?
- Do such inequities and inconsistencies still exist in today's version of the American Dream? If so, by what process can they be eliminated?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *To Walk in My Brother's Shoes*

Begin by playing Side 1 of "To Be a Slave," a Caedmon recording (TC 2006) of slave narratives performed by Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis and narrated by Julius Lester. This recording brings to life the slave trade, beginning in Africa and ending on the auction block. Then invite a psychologist and a history teacher from your local school, community college, or university to explore the social, economic, and psychological conditions necessary for slavery to begin and flourish in a society. Ask the questions: "Is slavery possible today?" "What forms of human oppression are visible in modern-day society?"

- *Back to Grass Roots*

When the *Mayflower* arrived in Massachusetts, most of what is now the United States was inhabited by people Columbus had inadvertently named "Indians." Invite a local historian, a representative of a local Native American organization, or a representative from your state's Bureau of Indian Affairs to discuss the Native Americans who lived in your area and their culture.

- *Beginning at the Beginning*

Obviously, the Pilgrims didn't settle all of the United States. How was your community or area settled? Invite a local or state historian to discuss your own history as a community. Members can be urged to bring photos or mementos of the past that might be in their possession. Also, "old timers" in the community could be invited as special guests to share their recollections of earlier eras with your group.

- *Red Man, Pale Face*

Most Americans, as a result of television and the movies, have a stereotyped view of Native Americans. Only recently have these stereotypes been replaced with more realistic portrayals drawn from history. Challenge your group's stereotypes of American Indians by showing "The North American Indian: Treaties Made—and Treaties Broken," an award-winning film narrated by Indian champion Marlon Brando about the struggle of the Nisqually Indians to regain their hunting and fishing rights. Then invite a historian or representative of a local or state Native American group to discuss the changing image of Indian-Caucasian relationships throughout American history.

- *Redefining the Dream*

Is the modern "American Dream" to be free of economic worries? "But What If the Dream Comes True?"—an award-winning television documentary—takes an in-depth look at the lives of a family who have achieved economic security. Show this film to your group and then lead a discussion on the issues it raises about the quality of this particular version of the American Dream. Each member can be asked to describe his or her personal concept of the American Dream, and then the entire group can explore the origins of these versions.

- *America Revisited*

Colonists came to America for all kinds of reasons—to escape persecution, to seek religious freedom, to find wealth, to earn a decent living, to find adventure. Using the *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader*, Vol. I, selections listed earlier, briefly summarize for your group the lure of the New World. Then lead a panel discussion on the question: "Are there still good reasons to come to America?" Panel participants could include a minister, priest, or rabbi, business people, members of minority groups, an educator, and students.

Two Centuries of Immigrants
September 7 to September 13

"Remember, remember always that all of us . . . are descended from immigrants and revolutionists."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Good-bye to Ireland. Padraic Colum describes a wake-like farewell party for a friend immigrating from Ireland to the United States.

- Letters to Sweden. The vision of America as the

"Promised Land," as seen through the eyes of a typical immigrant, is captured in this persuasive letter to kin still in Sweden.

- Life in the Back Alleys. Jacob Riis holds up a mirror to the life of poverty and struggle that confronted most immigrants in America's cities.

From Popular Periodicals

- Why do immigrants come to America today? *U.S. News and World Report* talks with four new U.S. citizens for the answers in the April 1, 1974 issue (pp. 32-35).

- Not everyone is in favor of immigration today. For a review of the arguments for closing the gates to America, see "Should We Pull Up the Gang Plank?" in the September 16, 1973 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (pp. 14-15 +).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* by John Higham. In this now classic work, Higham examines the ideas behind the anti-foreign movements that pervaded the United States during the era when immigration was at its crest.

- *The American Irish* by William V. Shannon. This readable book reviews the role of the Irish in American politics, society, and culture.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *The Uprooted* by Oscar Handlin. Central to the great experience of immigration for many were broken families, crowding into ghettos, and all the aspects and shocks of alienation. Handlin deals with these events from the immigrants' perspective, at the same time showing how immigration altered the land and its citizens.

- *A Nation of Immigrants* by John F. Kennedy. President Kennedy wrote this book to combat the prejudices against ethnics and the foreign-born. He offers an understanding of the important role immigrants have played in American life and demonstrates that America is truly a nation of many peoples.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- What effect have immigrants had on American life—our culture, our economy, our institutions?
- What are the sources of the anti-immigrant prejudice that still persists in America?
- How can anti-immigrant prejudice be reconciled with the American Dream?
- What are the barriers that seem to prevent today's immigrants from achieving the success enjoyed by past immigrants? Is it possible to remove these barriers?
- Are you in favor of restoring restrictions on immigration to America? If so, why?
- What does your community do to welcome immigrants?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *"Descended from Immigrants and Revolutionaries"*

Show the film, "The Huddled Masses," the part of Alistair Cooke's *America* series that describes the great influx of immigrants to America between 1885 and 1915. Then review with your group each member's ethnic background. You might want to record this part of the program as the beginning of an oral history of your organization.

- *To Be Uprooted*

Invite the members of a local ethnic society to meet with your group. Conducting an informal discussion, explore their recollections of immigrants in America, either as they themselves remember them or as they were related to them by their relatives.

- *"Give Me Your Tired, Your Poor"*

Americans, even those who had been immigrants themselves, did not always welcome new immigrants to their shores. For a little-known anecdote about the Statue of Liberty and America's closed-door policies, see "Emma Lazarus, 'The New Colossus'" by John Higham in *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader,* Vol. I. Then show "Storm of Strangers," an award-winning film narrated by Herschel Bernardi that explores the history of change in the "melting pot" of New York City. Conclude with an informal discussion of your members' attitudes toward immigrants today (e.g., Cubans, Vietnamese, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, etc.).

- *In the Factories, In the Mills*

Historically, immigrants have filled the lowest jobs on the U.S. labor ladder. In the past and still today, immigrants are condemned for taking jobs away from U.S. citizens. On the other hand, many attribute America's industrial might to the strength of its immigrant labor forces. Explore this difference of opinion in a panel discussion. Panel participants could include labor union members or officials, immigration officials, ethnic business people or leaders of local ethnic societies, officials from the state's department of labor, and city personnel officers. Prior to the panel discussion, you might want to view "The Inheritance," a film on immigrants and their role in the trade union movement.

- *Starting at the Bottom*

How do the problems encountered by modern immigrants compare with those of the early immigrants? Explore this issue with your group first by viewing "Island In America," a film on the cultural, social, and economic life of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Then convene a panel to discuss steps that can be taken to help modern immigrants. Panel members could include a member of your Chamber of Commerce, a local educator, a member of a labor union, and members of ethnic societies.

- *Crossing the Border*

Mexican-Americans have played an important part in United States history for more than 400 years. Familiarize your group with this history by viewing "North from Mexico: Exploration and Heritage," a film about the contributions Mexican-Americans have made and the prejudice they've encountered. Then invite a representative of a local or state Chicano organization to discuss with your group the problems of Mexican-Americans and of present-day Mexican immigrants to the United States.

Out of Many, One?
September 14 to September 20

"America, my country, is almost a continent and hardly yet a nation." — Ezra Pound

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Talking American-Italian Style. Jerry Mangione humorously reveals how his Italian-immigrant family "adapted" to their new life in America.

- The Promised Land. Excerpts from the personal journal of Mary Antin shows the importance of American schools in the Americanization of a young immigrant around the turn of the century.

- Locking the Door: The Exclusion of the Chinese. This song and humorous poem by Brete Harte became popular watchwords in the movement to restrict Chinese immigration to the United States.

- The Melting Pot. These two selections present opposing viewpoints: the first expresses the idea of America as a melting pot made up of all races and nationalities; the second advances the now widely accepted concept of "cultural pluralism."

From Popular Periodicals

- For a slice of life from a modern-day Italian-American community in New York City, see "A Dream Grows in Brooklyn" by Susan Jacoby, an award-winning writer on ethnic America, in the February 23, 1975 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (p. 11 +).

- Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, the authors of a classic study of ethnic separatism in New York City titled *Beyond the Melting Pot*, discuss the question "Why Ethnicity?" in the October 1974 issue of *Commentary* (pp. 4 +).

- Writer Toni Morrison describes her personal reaction to a growing awareness of her black heritage in "Rediscovering Black History" in the *New York Times Magazine,* August 11, 1974 (pp. 14-16 +).

- Fred Barbaro explores the recent history of intra-ethnic rivalry in "Ethnic Resentment," an article in the March 1974 issue of *Society* magazine (pp. 67-75).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* by Michael Novak. A young Catholic Slovak-American gives a highly personal and polemical interpretation of American politics and culture.

- *Japanese-Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* by Harry Kitan. This brief book chronicles the history of one of the most mistreated and also one of the most successful of American ethnic groups.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *La Raza* by Stan Steiner. Many Mexican-Americans feel that their history as a people has been deliberately and systematically suppressed. In tracing the rise of their ethnic consciousness in the 1960s, Steiner supplies the historic background to the Chicanos' current political, cultural, and religious activities.

- *Beyond the Melting Pot* by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. This early 1960s study of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish in New York City helped pave the way for the rediscovery of ethnic diversity in American society. Glazer and Moynihan debunk the myth of the melting pot and show how America transformed the immigrant without robbing him of his ethnic identity.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- Despite their diverse backgrounds, what common characteristics are shared by all Americans?
- Are these similarities numerous enough and/or strong enough to support our calling attention to our differences without threatening our national identity?
- Is group identity only a means of seeking political redress of grievances?
- What other purposes does it serve?
- Are there facets of modern life that make group identity not only desirable but necessary?
- Was the concept of the "melting pot" ever real?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *The Melting Pot Myth*

Play "A Nation of Immigrants," a tape that focuses on the ways immigrants came to influence the American way of life. Then initiate a panel discussion on the topic "Is America, the Melting Pot, a Myth?" Participants could include an instructor of ethnic studies, leaders of local ethnic groups, and an administrator from the public school system.

- *Blocs of Hyphenated Americans*

What effect is ethnic identification having on politics and social programs in your community or state? Invite an official who holds a local, state, or national elective office to discuss the current impact of ethnic identification on politics and social programs.

- *Undershirts and Beer Cans*

Recall ethnic stereotypes in American culture by playing excerpts from the Atlantic recording (SD 7210) of the popular television program "All in the Family," or by playing a tape of the radio program, "Racial and Ethnic Stereotyping in America," prepared by Dr. Lewis Carlson of Western Michigan University. Invite a teacher of American studies, ethnic studies, or American history to discuss the history of ethnic stereotyping and its effects on our politics and culture.

- *In the Third Century?*

What is the agenda of racial and ethnic groups for the next century of American life? Invite the leaders of black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and/or other ethnic groups to discuss their future plans and goals as they relate to racial or ethnic pride.

- *Educated to be Citizens*

What is the function of education in producing American citizens? What relationships exist between citizenship training and the burgeoning number of ethnic studies programs? Convene a panel to present diverse viewpoints on these issues. Panel participants could include members of the local school board, high-school or college students, a PTA officer, and representatives of local ethnic groups. To stimulate the panel discussion you may want to view "Challenge to America: The Role of Education in Intergroup Relations," a film in which a professor illustrates ways and means of meeting the challenge for good human relations among people of various religious, racial, and national backgrounds.

- *Communities within Communities*

Hold your meeting in an ethnic neighborhood. Arrange for someone who is familiar with the area to take your group on a walking tour, taking time to talk with people in the neighborhood, shopkeepers, priests and pastors of local churches, and rabbis of local synagogues. When your group reconvenes, discuss with a sociologist and a representative of the neighborhood the meaning of these neighborhoods to their residents and to the community at large.

We Pledge Allegiance. . .
September 21 to September 27

"America—Love It or Leave It!" —Popular Slogan

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Red Power. Alvin Josephy, Jr. examines the ways in which life at the hands of the white majority has served as a basis for unity among Native Americans.

- Americans—With a Chicano Outlook. Ruben Salazar describes what it means to be a member of La Raza—the race.

- The Unblended Blacks. Poet Witter Bynner reveals the depth of racial prejudice in one of his poems, and Nathan Huggins explores the position of the Afro-American community within contemporary society.

- Speaking for Ethnic America. Barbara Mikulski, a prominent spokeswoman for diverse ethnic groups in this country, gives voice to the frustrations shared by many of the so-called "forgotten" Americans.

From Popular Periodicals

- The changing attitudes of American citizens toward their country are analyzed by William F. Buckley in the November 10, 1972 issue of the *National Review* (pp. 1126-27).

- The conscience of Daniel Ellsberg is probed by author Studs Terkel in "Servants of the State" in the February 1972 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 52-58).

- Former Assistant Secretary of Defense, A. B. Fritt, reviews the history of the draft and desertion and offers suggestions for a compromise on the amnesty issue in an article titled "Amnesty" in the *New York Times Magazine*, September 8, 1974 (pp. 27 +).

- "Youth After the Revolution" in the March 1973 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 144-48 +) and "What's Become of Yesterday's Student Rebels?" in the January 13, 1975 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 34-37), put into perspective the campus uprisings of the sixties.

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *An American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal. In this now classic work, a prominent sociologist looks at the position of blacks in twentieth-century America.

- *An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History* by Rowland T. Berthoff. The interaction of immigration and slavery with other social forces is viewed from the vantage point of humane conservatism.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *Senator Joe McCarthy* by Richard H. Rovere. What makes a loyal, good American? Describing the life, career, and downfall of the Wisconsin senator who, after World War II, ruthlessly hunted for communists and fellow-travelers in all branches of the government, Rovere shows how secrecy can torment an open society.

- *Conscience in America* edited by Lillian Schlissel. Conscientious objection is a special form of dissent which places the individual outside his society. The 55 documents in this collection, ranging from John Woolman to Martin Luther King, Jr., and including recent legal decisions, illustrate the tradition of conscience in America.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- What are the requirements of a loyal citizen, a patriot?
- What happens when these requirements clash with personal beliefs?
- Can you think of any instances in which civil disobedience would be justified?
- Under what circumstances would you break the law in the name of a personal belief or value?
- Who determines how much civil disobedience society can tolerate?
- Is there too much emphasis on the symbols of patriotism and not enough on its substance?
- Is America nurtured by blind loyalty or deceived by it?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *"I Have a Dream"*

Play selections from Martin Luther King's speech "I Have a Dream" on the Mercury recording, "In Search of Freedom" (SR 61170). Then invite black leaders in your community to comment on the progress the black community has made toward achieving the goals King so dramatically articulated in 1963. Barriers to black progress also could be discussed at this meeting.

- *The Verdict Is. . .*

Your group will become the jury in the trial of the Catonsville Nine, a group that burned draft records in Pennsylvania in the sixties. Play the summary arguments on Side 4 of the Caedmon recording (TRS 353) of the Phoenix Theater's performance of "The Trial of the Catonsville Nine." Then, have your group debate the issues raised and vote on a verdict. Conclude by playing the jury's actual decision and the judge's final comments.

- *Dissent: The Essential Freedom*

Play excerpts from Henry David Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience" read by Archibald MacLeish for Caedmon Records (TC 1263). Then invite a local, state, or Federal judge to discuss with a local prosecutor or lawyer the limits of dissent in America as defined by laws and by the courts.

- *"Where have all the flowers gone?"*

Where is the counterculture in your community? Invite members and former members of local counterculture groups to discuss the reasons for the apparent decline of the counterculture as a social movement in America.

- *"Are you now or have you ever been. . . ?"*

Arthur Miller's play "The Crucible," written during the McCarthy era, elicited a great deal of political comment at its debut. Play excerpts from the Caedmon recording (TRS 356) of "The Crucible" performed by the Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center. Then invite a teacher of American literature and a political scientist to discuss the topic: "The Crucible: Art or Politics?"

- *At What Cost?*

What motivates a person to stand up for his or her opinions even though they may represent a minority view? What is the personal cost of taking an unpopular stand? Explore this topic by viewing "Jane Kennedy—To Be Free," a film about a Chicago nurse who tells why she risked her personal freedom in the name of her beliefs. Then invite members of your community who, in the past, have taken controversial or unpopular stands and ask them to share the basis of their actions with your group.

Tractored Out, 1938

Library of Congress

The Land of Plenty
September 28 through October 25, 1975

America is also a place—a land to be settled, owned, rented, mined, seeded, plowed under, asphalted over, built upon, played on, lived in. It began as thin slivers of civilization along the coasts—colonial settlements on the Atlantic, Spanish missions on the Pacific. Now it spans a continent, embraces an archipelago in the mid-Pacific, reaches into the Arctic Circle, thrusts into the Caribbean. The land drew our forefathers here, and our wealth as a nation derives from it: our use of it has given us the world's most productive system of agriculture and industry. How have we shaped this land and how has it shaped us? What explains our different regional cultures, the growth of our cities and suburbs? Have we used the land wastefully? Do we need to put limits on our growth to recapture a reverence for nature? Of course we must use the land for cities and suburbs; to sustain life and make it worth living. To what extent can we have the best both of growth and of harmony with nature by planning, zoning and land use management? Who decides . . . who really owns the land?

American Issues Forum
Calendar of Topics

A Shrinking Frontier
September 28 to October 4

"Go West young man, and grow up with the country."
—Horace Greeley

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- New World—New People. The late historian, Thomas Wertenbaker, argues that the geography of the region settled by the first English colonists was an important factor in determining their fate and in transforming these men and women into the "First Americans."

- The New England Way: Puritan Town-Builders. Edward Johnson, who helped establish Woburn, Massachusetts, describes the sense of community that bound the residents of New England villages together.

- Advertising the Southern Frontier. Thomas Nairne, a Swiss immigrant, describes typical land prices, land tenure, financial arrangements, and the opportunities open to settlers in the southern frontier.

- Missionaries and Indians: The Spanish Frontier. Alexander Forbes, a British visitor, portrays the mission system at the height of its power in California.

- Settling the Prairie. In this poignant excerpt from *My Antonia,* Willa Cather describes the hardships encountered by the pioneers on the high prairie.

- Silver Fever. Humorist Mark Twain captures the color and excitement of "gold and silver fever" in a western mining town.

From Popular Periodicals

- Glimpses of the demands frontier life made on men and women are found in "Nellie Cashman: Gold Digger of '77," an article about a female mining expert and entrepreneur, in the December 1974 issue of *MS* magazine (pp. 106-108).

- Artist and writer, Frederic Remington, was the source of many popular images of the West—the land, its settlers, and Indians. Brian W. Dippie, a history professor, looks at the life and works of this interpreter of frontier life in "Frederic Remington's Wild West" in the April 1975 issue of *American Heritage* (pp. 6 21 +).

- American nostalgia for life at the turn of the century is misplaced, according to "Good Old Days—or Were They?" in the February 10, 1975 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 28-31).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *The First Americans* by Thomas Wertenbaker. This book provides an insight into the everyday existence of the first two generations of northern and southern colonists and examines the social and ideological problems that confronted these early pioneers.

- *Colonial Folkways* by Charles M. Andrews. This vivid description of the colonial landscape—urban, rural, and wilderness—includes a discussion of the changes that took place during the 18th century.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *Ordeal by Hunger* by George R. Stewart. The Donner Party, a wagon train of immigrants on their way to California in 1846-47, became an unforgettable page in our frontier history when they were caught in an early winter storm in the Sierra Nevada mountains. Many perished, others survived only through cannibalism, stripped of their moral scruples by starvation, sickness, and death.

- *The Urban Frontier* by Richard C. Wade. Wade recounts the growth of the frontier cities—Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, and Lexington—from the beginning of the steamboat era around 1830. Their rapid rise, he argues, produced two distinct frontier societies, one urban and one rural, that set a pattern for the development of the rest of the nation.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- How did the land affect its settlers and the settlers affect the land?
- To what extent did the land contribute to the formation of our national character?
- What are the distinguishing features of the American national character?
- To what extent is the frontier spirit still a part of our national character? Did it vanish with the frontier?
- What are the sources of the American "pioneering" spirit today?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *When the Land Was Wilderness*

Begin by viewing "Journals of Lewis and Clark," a film that travels the same path through the American wilderness that Lewis and Clark forged during their famous expedition of 1803-1806. Contrast the land and its inhabitants as described in eye-witness accounts with the land and people who reside there today. Then convene a panel to discuss with your group the attitudes of early Americans toward nature and their impact on the frontier. Panelists could include a history teacher from your local high school, community college, or university, a representative from a local or state environmental group, a minister, priest, or rabbi, and a practicing psychologist or teacher of psychology.

- *Frontier Spirit*

Invite a history teacher from your local high school, community college, or university to share with your group Frederick Jackson Turner's theory that the frontier shaped the American character. In the discussion to follow, the group can react to Turner's theory and speculate on whether today's frontierless society has created deficiencies in the national character as we now know it.

- *The Lure of New Land*

In the tape "Pioneer Saga," your group will learn why one pioneer family moved into the wilderness and the challenges they faced there. Then ask each member to comment on the question "If I had the chance to explore a new frontier, a wilderness, with my family today, would I do it?"

- *Images of a Wild Land*

Does your group have a romantic picture of life on the Western frontier? Begin by having each member describe his or her impressions of the "wild West." Record the most frequently stated impressions. Then show the film "The Real West," which uses vintage photographs and paintings to portray the West as it was. Conclude by having group members compare their original impressions with their impressions after viewing the film.

- *Frontier Life, Law, and Justice*

Invite a panel to discuss with your group the question "Is the frontier the source and sustenance of the violence in American society?" Panel members could include a sociologist or teacher of social studies from your local high school, community college, or university, a priest, pastor, or rabbi, a law enforcement official or a local judge, and/or a history teacher.

- *Cowboys and Indians*

Historians are currently revising today's popular images of cowboys and Indians—and their relationship on the frontier. Invite a teacher of history or minority studies, a member of a Native American group, or an official from your state's Bureau of Indian Affairs to discuss with your group their ideas about cowboys and Indians in light of contemporary scholarship.

The Sprawling City
October 5 to October 11

"How you gonna keep 'em down on the farm after they've seen Paree?"

— Title and refrain of a popular song, 1919

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Homesteading on the Middle Border. Historical geographer Carl Sauer describes the prairie homestead, which established a way of life in rural middle America.

- "Amber Waves of Grain." The beginnings of agribusiness are revealed in C. C. Coffin's description of bonanza farms.

- Patterns of Space. John B. Jackson, former editor of *Landscape* magazine, tells how the growth of urban and suburban communities led to new ways of thinking about the land.

- Stretching the City. Daniel Boorstin explores the development of the suburb and its relationship to traditional American values.

- "A Very Large City." Geographer Jean Gottmann discusses the future of the megalopolis.

From Popular Periodicals

- Thirteen mayors sum up the problems facing urban areas today in "Cities at Bay" in the April 7, 1975 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 43-44). This entire issue is devoted to the problems of urban areas.

- Neighborhoods are the key to urban revitalization, according to Stephen N. Adubato and Richard J. Krikus, co-authors of "Stable Urban Neighborhoods: A Strategy for the Cities," in the May 18, 1974 issue of *The Nation* (pp. 623-28).

- The problems that cities and suburbs share are described in "Crowds, Crime, Higher Taxes: City Problems Move to the Suburbs" in the December 10, 1973 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 65-68).

- The decline of a small city from over-zealous urban renewal efforts is portrayed in "Tearing Down Boise" by L. J. Davis in the November 1974 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 32+).

- Will the energy shortage arrest the development of "spread cities" and force people to move back into America's core cities? Anthony Downes, head of an urban research group, offers his ideas in "Squeezing Spread City" in the March 17, 1974 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (pp. 38-40+).

- For a contrast to urban living, see "Emporium, Pa., Pop. 3,074," a photo essay on everyday life in a small town, in the April 1975 issue of *MS* magazine (pp. 70-76+).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *American Space* by J. B. Jackson. This account of the changes in the American urban and rural environment that took place in the decade after the Civil War emphasizes city planning, architecture, and landscape design.

- *Megalopolis* by Jean Gottmann. This highly informative book analyzes the complex of cities between Portland, Maine and Richmond, Virginia as a new kind of urban landscape.

Selections from the American Library Associations Bicentennial Reading List.

- *The Unheavenly City Revisited* by Edward C. Banfield. According to Banfield, America's cities are not losing the battle against poverty, social disadvantage, and racial discrimination. His view is that conditions of life in urban America have improved dramatically and that the basic question confronting American cities is not race but class.

- *Altgeld's America* by Ray Ginger. Transformation from an agricultural to an urban industrial society was the most dramatic reality of 19th-century American life. Using Illinois under Governor John Peter Altgeld and Chicago as his case in point, Ginger describes how reformers such as Clarence Darrow, Jane Addams, and Eugene Debs sought a new equality for the masses.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- America's cities were to be symbols of its citizens' greatest achievements. In what ways have they achieved this goal?
- In what ways have they failed?
- How has urbanization influenced the quality of American life?
- In today's increasingly homogeneous society, what differences persist between urban, suburban, and rural life styles?
- What differences persist only in our imaginations?
- What options are left for structuring human communities in the future?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *Financing the City*

Is money the key to survival for the cities in your state? What impact do state subsidies of cities, if there are any, have on your community? What are other possible financial alternatives? Invite a panel to discuss this question with your group. Panel members could include your state legislator, or a member of an appropriations committee in state government, a budget official from a city in your state, your mayor or city manager, and a regional or state planning official.

- *Shifting Populations*

It has been said that eventually only three groups of people will live in cities: the very rich, the very poor, and the police—who will be necessary to maintain peace between the two. Where have members of your group lived, where do they live now, and why? Are their moves typical of current population shifts? Invite a planning official or sociologist to meet with your group to discuss its moves, to relate these moves to population trends, and to speculate on the reasons these trends are appearing.

- *The Plight of Small Cities and Towns*

Too often, the problems plaguing small cities and towns are overshadowed by the problems of major urban cities. Show "Smalltown, U.S.A.," a film that explores the problems of three small towns a decade ago. Then with a state or regional planning official, your state legislator, a leader of a citizens action group, or a mayor or city manager from a small city or town, discuss how these problems have been addressed in the past ten years, their current status, and possible future problem-solving efforts.

- *Planned Environments*

The city of the future and the way it will deal with its complex problems are explored by Lewis Mumford, Buckminister Fuller, Le Corbusier, and others in "Cities of the Future." Show this film to your group. Then invite a local planning official to discuss the practicality of the film's solutions and the soundness of relying on urban planning as a problem solver.

- *The Urban Poor*

Explore with your group the trap encountered by a black family living in Chicago's inner city by viewing "Tenement." Then discuss with a panel the following question: "Is there any hope for the urban poor?" Panel members could include a member or leader of a citizens' action group, a leader of a minority group, a leader of a social-service project designed to serve the urban poor, an official of a local or state department of social services, and an educator from an inner-city area.

- *Urban Slurb*

Play for your group "Urban Slurb," a tape-cassette discussion by the editors of *Fortune* magazine of an America "that looks like hell." Then discuss with members of your local planning commission, zoning board, or governing body what steps are being taken to stop the spread of "urban slurb" in your community.

Use and Abuse in the Land of Plenty
October 12 to October 18

"And I brought you into a plentiful country to eat the fruit thereof and the goodness thereof; but when ye entered, ye defiled my land. . ." —Jeremiah 2:7

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Our Motorized Mistress. Writing in 1958, Lewis Mumford demonstrated amazing foresight in his predictions of the impact the automobile and highway system would have on the environment.

• Working With Nature. In 1864 George Perkins Marsh forewarned of the dire consequences that would result from people's misuse of the land. The Tennessee Valley Authority, an effort to use, but not abuse, nature for the benefit of area residents, is described by David Lilienthal.

From Popular Periodicals

• Tales of two states, their environmental problems, and their progress toward finding solutions are found in the following articles: "Good-bye Colorado" by Hugh Gardner in the April 1974 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 14+) and "Oregon: The Fight for Survival" by Roger M. Williams in the November 1974 issue of *Saturday Review/World* (pp. 10-15+).

• The massive clean-up of the dirtiest city in the United States, Chattanooga, Tennessee, is chronicled in "Most Polluted City in the U.S. Shows the Way to Clean Up" in the June 17, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 81-83).

• In 1973 the *Christian Science Monitor*'s environment editor, Robert Cahn, explored land use and abuse, sprawl, and limited growth in a six-part series, "Where Do We Grow from Here?" Reprints may be ordered for $.35 each (up to 499 copies) from "Reprints," *The Christian Science Monitor*, Post Office Box 527, Back Bay Station, Boston, MA 02117.

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

• *Only One Earth* by Barbara Ward and René Dubos. How the United States fits in the global ecosystem and the steps it must take along with other nations, to preserve the world environment are discussed in this book.

• *Environment and Society* edited by Robert T. Roeloff, Joesph W. Crowley, and Donald L. Hardesty. This recent book of readings explores such topics as technology and its impact on the quality of life, the economy and the environment, and environmental ethics.

Program Suggestions and Resources

• *Silent Spring*

Rachel Carson is credited with starting the current environmental movement with her book *Silent Spring*. View with your group "The Silent Spring of Rachel Carson," a 1963 film discussion of the questions raised by Ms. Carson about pesticides. Then invite an environmentalist from a citizen's organization, a local community college or university, or a state environmental agency to discuss the current opinions of Ms. Carson's concern about pesticides more than a decade ago.

• *In the Ecosystem*

Where does your community fit ecologically? Where does it get its water? How polluted is its air? What does it do with its solid waste? How safe is the health of its citizens? How stable is this ecosystem, and what is its impact on other communities? Explore these questions in a panel discussion with officials from such local government departments as Sanitation, Planning, Health, etc., and with community environmentalists.

• *Saving the Land*

View "Before the Mountain was Moved," a film that documents the struggle of poor Appalachian landowners to obtain legislation controlling strip mining. Then discuss with leaders of local or state environmental groups what their legislative and community action goals are. Group members can be encouraged to respond to these goals.

• *What comes first?*

In recent months, the need for environmental protection has clashed with the need for energy and jobs. For a perspective on this issue view "A Question of Values," a film by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency on the conflict between environmental preservation and economic development in a small town in Maine. Then discuss with your group members their opinions on this emotionally charged issue and their rationale for resolving the dilemma it presents.

• *Growth*

Can a community set limits on its size, its future growth? Convene a panel to explore the issue of growth or lack of growth within your community. Panel members could include the head of your planning commission, a member of the local Chamber of Commerce, the attorney for your governing body, local environmentalists, and a labor union official.

• *Woodman, Spare that Tree*

Trees can be replaced, once they have been cut for lumber, only if the soil has been maintained. Begin by viewing the Sierra Club's "Wasted Woods," a film that shows the destruction of forests. Then invite a local conservation official or teacher of agriculture to discuss steps being taken locally to safeguard and replenish local forest lands. If possible, also invite a representative from a local or nearby paper or lumber company.

Who Owns the Land?
October 19 to October 25

"This land is your land/This land is my land/From California/To the New York islands. . ./This land was made for you and me." —Woody Guthrie

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

• Brute Action: The Destructiveness of Man. James Fenimore Cooper graphically portrays the brute action of a woodcutter clearing land in the early 19th century in western New York State.

• Paper Farmers and Hungry Hordes. In this excerpt from *The Grapes of Wrath*, John Steinbeck contrasts attitudes toward the land of the "Arkies and Okies" for whom the soil meant life and food, with those of the large corporate owners, for whom it was an impersonal source of profit.

- Controlling Growth: Future Environments. Raymond Dasmann, an ecologist, explores the implication of America's traditional individualism and "bulldozer mentality" for the future of the environment.

From Popular Periodicals

- Eloquent arguments for wilderness preservation are made by Gilbert H. Grosvenor, founder of the National Geographic Society, in the February 1974 issue of *National Geographic* (pp. 151-57). In the same issue are beautifully illustrated articles on five wilderness areas.

- A symposium "This Land is Whose Land?" considers the recreation land racket, the perils of mobile-home living, and the FHA housing scandals in the May 1974 issue of *Progressive* (pp. 19-34).

- Both sides in the controversy over America's coastlines are explored in "The Growing Battle to Save America's Coastlines" in the September 9, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 45-47).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *The Right to Property* by Marcus Cunliffe. The historical development and supporting ideology of the American belief in the right to property are traced in this book.
- *This Country Was Ours* edited by Virgil J. Vogel. The book documents the Indians' loss of their lands with the help of various historical materials such as laws, treaties, letters, official reports, and court decisions.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *Who Owns America?* by Walter J. Hickel. The former Secretary of the Interior puts forward a political idealism for the nation's future and comments on his struggles with oil companies, the whaling industry, Congress, and the White House.

- *The Trees; The Fields; The Town* by Conrad Richter. Settling the West transformed a hunting society into a farming one. These three books about families living on the frontier—their houses, food, clothes, tools, customs, speech—recall the strength and ingenuity that made such communities possible.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- Do individual property rights sometimes take priority over the interests of the community?
- Is planning the best way to reconcile these often conflicting interests?
- Is a no-growth, a limited, or a controlled growth policy possible in your community?
- Taking into consideration all of the interests involved, what is being done or should be done in your community to make the best use of the land?
- What role should the government play in determining the use of privately owned property?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *A Wilderness to Preserve*

Much of the wilderness preserved today is found in America's National Parks. Take a brief tour of these parks by viewing a National Geographic Society film, "The National Parks: America's Legacy." Then, using the study guide that accompanies the film, discuss with your group how they view the wise use of wilderness areas in the face of growing population and economic pressures.

- *Just a Small Farm*

Are small farmers a vanishing breed? Share with your group a close look at modern agri-business in "Hard Times in the Country," an award-winning film on today's food-production industry. Invite a member of a local farmers' organization or teacher of agriculture from a local school, community college, or university to discuss the status of modern farming in your area.

- *Modern Indian Wars*

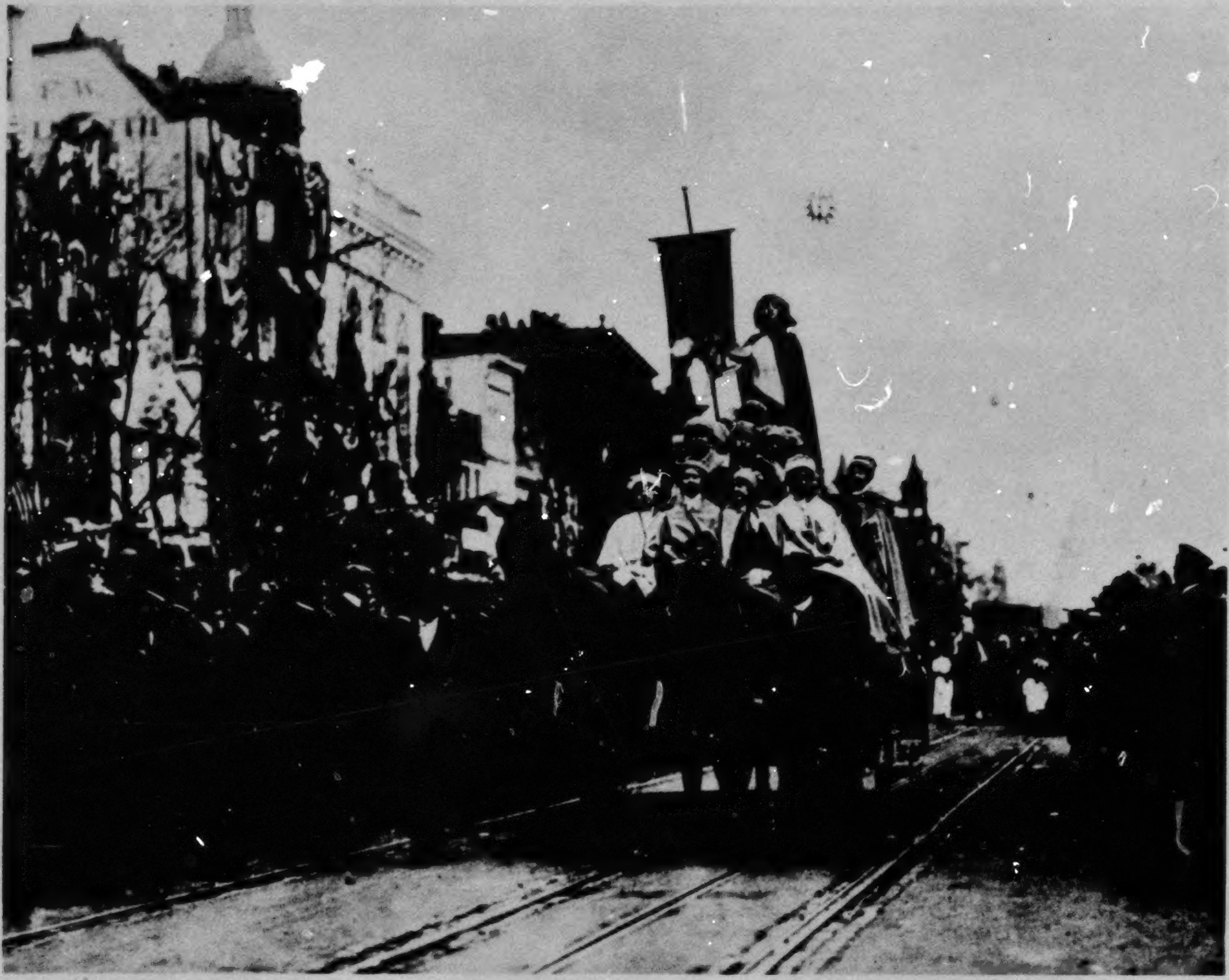
The Indians' struggle to regain their land is documented in the tape cassette "Today's Indian Wars." Play this tape for your group. Then invite a representative from a Native American organization or an official from your state's Bureau of Indian Affairs to discuss local Native American claims to their original lands.

- *A Green Place*

No one can deny the value of parks in a community. However, park land today is hard to find, very expensive to purchase and develop, and costly to maintain. Invite your local park commissioner or a planning official to discuss with your group the issue of parks in your community today and in the future.

- *National Seashores*

One of the most recent movements concerned with wilderness preservation involves the creation of national seashores. A vivid statement about this concern is found in the Sierra Club's "An Island in Time," a film about America's first national seashore on the Pacific Coast. View this film with your group. Then discuss with a local historian or political scientist or a representative from a naturalist group: "The Politics of Conservation." Conclude with suggestions from the group on how to preserve unique natural areas in your community or region.



Suffragette Parade, Washington, D.C., 1913 **Library of Congress**

"Certain Unalienable Rights"
October 26 through November 22, 1975

Now why did these people, in this land, seek independence to begin with? And why is the Fourth of July so important to us? This month we will be concerned with the freedoms that the new Republic guaranteed to its citizens. We'll examine some of the basic freedoms for which the War of Independence was fought—and which affect our everyday lives as Americans. Or are *supposed* to! "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. . ." So read the familiar words of the Declaration of Independence; and Jefferson wrote, two years before his death: "Nothing, then is unchangeable but the inherent and unalienable rights of man." Yet all through our history, it has proved harder than it might seem to defend these rights—and even to define them. Some of our most fundamental freedoms were not initially written into the Constitution, and even today, the exercise of our freedoms is a matter of debate, regularly contested in our courts. Are our ideals diluted in practice? By what standards do we interpret and extend equality? Are some of us more equal than others? If liberty and duty, rights and responsibilities, go hand in hand, how unfettered can freedom be? To what extent is freedom limited by responsibility?

American Issues Forum
Calendar of Topics

Freedom of Speech, Assembly, and Religion
October 26 to November 1

> *"Restriction of free thought and free speech is the most dangerous of all subversions. It is the one un-American act that could most easily defeat us."*
>
> —William O. Douglas

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Essential Afterthoughts: The Bill of Rights. The rights guaranteed to every American are contained in these amendments to the Constitution.

- "Liberty of Speech and Silence." Leo Pfeffer demonstrates how interpretation of the First Amendment has puzzled Americans since its ratification in 1791.

- "Free Trade in Ideas." Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes argues the "clear and present danger" test as the standard for deciding court cases involving freedom of speech.

- Protecting Unpopular Thought: "A Clear and Present Danger." In this Supreme Court decision, the Warren Court adheres to Justice Holmes' "clear and present danger" test in interpreting the First Amendment.

From Popular Periodicals

- In a two-part series, Richard Harris adds the human element to the historical controversy on freedom of speech by tracing the course of a recent court case—in light of past decisions—and the effect of this case on the lives of the people involved. See "Annals of Law: Free Speech" in the June 17 (pp. 37-40 +) and June 24, 1974 (pp. 37-38 +) issues of *The New Yorker.*

- Attorney Watham Lewin offers his opinion on the long-term effects of recent court decisions on free speech in "What's Happening to Free Speech: First Amendment Interpretation" in the July 27, 1974 issue of *New Republic* (pp. 13-17).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *Free Speech in the United States* by Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
- *Political Freedom* by Alexander Meiklejohn.

These two books, both written in the 1940s, present different interpretations of the First Amendment.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *The Bill of Rights* by Irving Brant. The origins and meaning of our constitutional liberties is Brant's concern. Besides the Bill of Rights, he counts 63 pledges of freedom in the Constitution, and, with a broad background in English legal history, he traces their development.

- *The Quest for the Dream* by John P. Roche. Roche's survey of progress in civil liberties in the United States over the past 60 years is generally optimistic. He documents advances since 1913 in the attitudes of the law, the federal government, and the public itself toward the rights and liberties of minority and nonconformist groups.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- If the Bill of Rights were to be voted upon today, how would you vote?
- What in your opinion are the limitations of the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights?
- Where in your opinion is the dividing line between the freedoms of the individual and the rights of society as a whole?
- How do we offer equal protection for the individual and the larger society?
- Are the rights of the individual bound to be subordinate in a country in which the majority rules?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *The Controversial Bill of Rights*

Invite a history teacher from a local school, community college, or university to discuss the historical controversy that surrounded the adoption of the Bill of Rights. Then ask each member of your group to state how he or she would have voted on the Bill of Rights or would have altered the proposed amendments. You might want to record this session as part of an oral history of your group's activities.

- *Freedom of Worship*

Perhaps no freedom guaranteed under the Bill of Rights is taken for granted more than religious freedom. Remind your group of this important right first by showing "Bill of Rights in Action: Freedom of Religion," a film that dramatizes religious liberty through a hypothetical court case, or by playing the cassette "To Secure These Rights," a survey of the landmark battles for religious freedom in America. Then invite a pastor, priest, or rabbi to discuss with your group any current threats to religious freedom that are visible either at home or abroad.

- *To Demonstrate*

Demonstrations, a form of assembly guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, have been important political tools for a variety of groups throughout our country's history. Invite a history teacher or political scientist to discuss the history of this freedom with your group. Group members can be encouraged to discuss their views on the various uses of demonstrations.

- *Speak Your Mind*

Mark Twain once said, "It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience and the prudence never to practice either of them." If what Twain said is true, what happens to those who "imprudently" exercise their freedom of speech? Explore this issue with your group first by viewing "Freedom to Speak: People of New York vs. Irving Feiner," a film that documents a Supreme Court decision involving this essential liberty. Then invite a local attorney, representatives of civil liberties groups, or a local judge to discuss current cases involving freedom of speech, including what the courts have called "symbolic speech."

- *Off the Shelves*

During the past school year, book banning has become a controversial issue in several communities. What are the opinions of your group on this issue? View together "Freedom to Read," an open-ended film designed to stimulate thinking on this issue through the use of a hypothetical situation. Invite a local librarian to discuss the issues raised by the film with your group.

Freedom of the Press
November 2 to November 8

"Freedom of the press is not an end in itself but a means to the end of a free society." —Felix Frankfurter

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Serving the Governed: Freedom of the Press. This opinion in the so-called Pentagon Papers case interprets the First Amendment in favor of the press.

From Popular Periodicals

- T. Griffith, a former *Life* editor, considers objectivity and the press in "Few Frank Words about Bias" in the April 1974 issue of *Atlantic* (pp. 47-49).

- Can a forum for reply be guaranteed in the press? Pulitzer Prize winner Thomas Powers explores the issues that surround this question in "Right to Reply Laws" in the May 1974 issue of *Commonweal* (pp. 255-57).

- The relationships between the press, the public, and the government are described by lawyer Charles Rember in "The First Amendment on Trial" in the April 1973 issue of *Atlantic* (pp. 45-54). In this same issue, journalist David Wise looks closely at the relationship between the executive office and the Fourth Estate in "The President and the Press" (pp. 55-64).

- The pros and cons of press immunity are weighed by writer-journalist Lewis H. Lapham in "The Temptation of a Sacred Cow" in the August 1973 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 43-54).

- The rights and responsibilities of the "national press" are outlined in "New Concerns about the Press," an unsigned article in the April 1975 special Bicentennial issue of *Fortune* magazine (pp. 121-23 +).

- The public has a right to know about how the press operates, argues Lewis W. Wolfson, a professor of communications, in the January 1975 issue of *Progressive* (pp. 42-46).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *The System of Freedom of Expression* by Thomas I. Emerson. This in-depth review explores the relationship between freedom of the press and the other vital freedoms of expression.

- *The Papers and the Papers* by Sanford J. Ungar. This piece of investigative journalism analyzes the legal and political battles that took place between the government and the press over the publication of the Pentagon Papers.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *The Media in America* by John Tebbel. In a survey covering two centuries, Tebbel points out that only through a free press can a people retain personal freedoms. As illustrative material he relates the struggles of the press with nearly all Presidents since Washington, including the Nixon-Agnew attacks.

- *The Boys on the Bus* by Timothy Crouse. How did the Washington press corps act on the 1972 re-election campaign trail with President Richard M. Nixon? Crouse details the breakdown of the traditional adversary system of news gathering—between reporter and reporter, as well as between the press and the candidate—in favor of journalism by handout.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- How essential is the free press to our free society?
- Do its contributions outweigh its weaknesses?
- In your opinion, does the press record history or does it create history?
- At what point does the press infringe upon the individual's right to privacy?
- What steps can be taken to eliminate this violation without destroying the free press?
- Today, media are big business seeking to earn a profit. Should they be regulated in the same way that other businesses are?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *Today's Media: Big Business*

Without question today's newspapers and television and radio stations are important businesses. Should they be regulated in much the same way that other enterprises are? Can their responsibilities be regulated without limiting the freedom of the press? What steps have the media, as an industry, taken to ensure fairness? Explore these issues in a panel discussion. Panel members might include the publisher or city editor of a local paper, broadcasting executives, reporters from any or all media, and a teacher of journalism from a local high school, community college, or university.

- *Objective Vantage Point*

That press coverage must be objective is one of the pillars supporting freedom of the press. The film "Journalism—Mirror, Mirror on the World?" illustrates how the same news event can be given radically different coverage by different reporters or media. Objectivity in reporting is found to be severely lacking. View this film with your group and then invite local newspaper, radio, and television reporters to comment on these apparent inequities in local and national news coverage.

- *The Press and Politics*

In recent months, the press has been accused of invading the privacy of public officials. Invite several public officials, elected and appointed, and several local journalists and editors to discuss this issue. Group members can be encouraged to raise questions about recent local coverage that they consider to have been an invasion of privacy.

- *The Press as Judge and Jury*

When does press coverage of a crime affect the right of an alleged criminal to a fair trial? Explore the balance between the rights of the press and the rights of the accused by viewing "Free Press vs. Trial by Jury: The Sheppard Case," a film on the Supreme Court appeal of a convicted murderer. Then invite a local judge to comment on drawing the balance between the rights of the press and the rights of the accused.

- *Calling the Signals*

Under the law, the electronic media are required to demonstrate their public service to the community. Invite local broadcast executives to discuss with your group the steps their television and radio stations are taking to fulfill this obligation. If this issue is a controversial one in your community, invite citizens groups active in this issue to respond.

- *On the Cable*

The decision to franchise or to renew the franchise of a cable television company is facing many communities today. The issues surrounding cable television are many and complex, especially those involving citizen access to the air waves. To bring these issues before your group, convene a panel. Panelists might include members of a local cable television commission (if one exists), a member of your local governing body, a cable television company executive, and a teacher of broadcast journalism from a local community college or university.

Freedom from Search and Seizure
November 9 to November 15

"The right to be let alone, the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men."
—Louis D. Brandeis

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- "The Right of the People to be Secure." Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson analyzes the tensions between individual and community security.

- Law, Criminals, and the Court. Henry J. Abraham discusses the major issues related to due process, the Fourth Amendment, and criminal law.

- The Right to Privacy. Congressman Barry M. Goldwater, Jr. analyzes the right to privacy in a world of computers and advanced surveillance equipment.

From Popular Periodicals

- The details of the Privacy Act of 1974 are spelled out in "How the New Privacy Law Protects You" in the December 30, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (p. 16).

- A review of the recent unsuccessful attempts to regulate electronic surveillance is found in "Big Brother Still Watches: Government Surveillance in the Name of National Security" by James Goodman in the February 1975 issue of *Progressive* (pp. 7-8).

- Recent Supreme Court decisions have altered the right of police to search argues attorney Stephen Arons in "Rise of Police Logic" in the April 5, 1975 issue of *Saturday Review* (pp. 12-13+).

- A case study of the juvenile justice system, which protects neither victims nor the rising number of violent youths, can be found in "They Think I Can Kill Because I'm 14" by Ted Morgan in the January 19, 1975 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (pp. 9-11+).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *Privacy and Freedom* by Alan F. Westin. In this thorough study, Westin surveys the use of modern electronic techniques in surveillance and traces the development of surveillance laws with respect to individual privacy.

- *The Rights of Americans* edited by Norman Dorsen. A concise, up-to-date review of the state of the law with respect to search and seizure and the Fourth Amendment can be found in Chapter 3 of this collection of essays.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *Executive Order 9066* by Maisie and Richard Conrat. Sixty photographs movingly reveal the results of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Order 9066, which interned 110,000 Japanese-Americans in 1942. An essay describing the growth of anti-orientalism in the American West complements an introduction by a man who was a child in the camps.

- *The Naked Society* by Vance Packard. Packard documents invasions of privacy by business, government, and other interests. He cites the use of such intrusive devices as hidden electronic media sensors, wiretaps, one-way mirrors, psychological testing, and probing census questionnaires.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- How safe is the individual from illegal search and seizure in today's society?
- How can the need for information by law enforcement agencies be reconciled with the individual right to privacy?
- What are the pros and cons of a National Data Bank?
- How can the collection of information by private groups be controlled?
- What responsibilities are inherent in the individual citizen's right to privacy and freedom from search and seizure?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *Data Banks*

One data bank most people are aware of is the one maintained by local credit bureaus. Invite the head of your local credit bureau to discuss the nature of this data collected, the means by which it is collected, and any steps being taken to prevent the misuse of this information. Group members can raise questions on the practices and methods described.

- *Who's Calling?*

The telephone, now found in almost every American home, can be a tool used to invade privacy whether at the hands of a crank caller, a telephone solicitor, or a surveillance expert. What protections are available for telephone subscribers who want to prevent invasions of their privacy via the phone? Invite a local telephone company executive to discuss this issue with your group.

- *You're Under Arrest*

In recent years the rights of alleged criminals have been the source of a great deal of controversy among judges, law enforcement officials, and attorneys. Convene a panel to review the current status of the law as it pertains to suspected criminals and the general public. Panel members could include local judges and lawyers, your local police chief, the county prosecutor, minority group leaders, and members of civil liberties groups.

- *Surveillance: Is Big Brother Watching You?*

Begin by viewing "Surveillance: Who's Watching?"—a timely film on political surveillance and harrassment in the United States. Then invite your local state representative, senator, local police chief, or prosecutor to react to the film and to comment on steps that can be taken by the individual to prevent invasions of privacy for political purposes.

- *In the Courts*

Much recent criticism involving violation of the right of due process has focused on the courts. How does your local court system operate to ensure the right of due process to every person arrested? Explore this issue with your group by viewing "Justice Delayed, Justice Denied," a film that investigates the problems of court congestion and the prolonged detention of individuals awaiting trial. Then convene a panel to discuss the issue as it relates to your local courts. Possible panel members might include local trial judges, the local prosecutor, a court administrator, a trial lawyer, and representatives of citizen groups concerned with civil rights, minority rights, or court reform.

Equal Protection under the Law
November 16 to November 22

> *"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal."*
>
> —Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- The Strange Career of Jim Crow. Distinguished Yale historian C. Vann Woodward analyzes the development of southern racial segregation and disfranchisement following the additions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

- Separate Is Not Equal. This unanimous opinion in *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* revitalized the equal protection clause of the Constitution and helped launch the modern-day civil rights movement.

- Pregnancy without Penalty: Civil Rights of Women. Attorney Eve Cary traces recent progress against sex descrimination.

- What Price Equality? These selections from committee hearings and from the U.S. Senate debate of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment reveals the argument for and against the effort to "legislate equality."

- Judicial Revolution: The Warren Court. Three contemporary historians discuss the history of the controversial Warren Court as well as the issue of policy making by the Supreme Court under the guise of interpreting the Constitution.

From Popular Periodicals

- On the twentieth anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling that separate is not equal, Theodore M. Hesburgh, former chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, assesses the progress and future of the civil rights movement in "Civil Rights: Old Victories, New Battles" found in the September 14, 1974 issue of *Nation* (pp. 207-10).

- The beginning of the women's rights movement over 125 years ago is documented in "What Do You Know About Seneca Falls?" by Anne Grant in the July 1973 issue of *MS* magazine (pp. 44-46 +).

- The arguments for and against the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) can be found in "Phyllis Schlafly: Sweetheart of the Silent Majority" in the March 1974 issue of *MS* magazine (pp. 55-57 +). Ms. Schlafly is an outspoken opponent of the ERA.

- The issues and history of a recent Supreme Court case involving affirmative action programs are reviewed in "Discriminating to End Discrimination: The Defunis Case" by reporter Nina Totenberg in the April 14, 1974 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (pp. 8-9 +).

- When the Supreme Court refused to hear the Defunis case referred to above, Justice William O. Douglas dissented. An analysis of his opinion, in which he discusses the constitutionality of the issues in the case, is found in "Justice Douglas's Dissent in the Defunis Case" by F. M. Hechinger in the July 27, 1974 issue of *Saturday Review/World* (pp. 51-52 +).

- For insights into the functions and dysfunctions of affirmative action, see "It's Action, But Is It Affirmative?" by Sheila K. Johnson in the May 11, 1975 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (pp. 18-19).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *Dark Ghetto* by Kenneth B. Clark. This book is a biting reminder of the continuance of racial discrimination in America and its tragic consequences for the nation.

- *Prophets With Honor* by Alan Barth. This book illustrates how minority Supreme Court opinions are translated, over the passage of time, into the majority view.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *A Time to Die* by Tom Wicker. A well-known newspaperman recounts his experience as one of many observers at the catastrophic uprising at Attica State Prison in upstate New York in September 1971. The book's autobiographical segments remind readers of how routine and all-pervasive American racism can be.

- *Once Upon a Pedestal* by Emily Hahn. These brief biographies of persons who advanced the status of women in America comprise a cheerful history, which follows the American woman's fitful course from colonial days to the present. Primary sources include many women writers, past and present, and cover such topics as popular movements and what women were reading.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- Can equality be legislated?
- Can diverse groups obtain equality under the law without infringing on the rights of others?
- Are changing social attitudes necessary in order to fully realize the benefits of equality?
- Are certain groups and/or individuals "more equal" in today's society than others?
- Can any imbalance in equality exist under the law without jeopardizing all the rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights?
- How can society atone for its past denials of equal rights to certain groups without infringing on the lawful rights of others to equal protection?
- Are quotas and affirmative-action programs a violation of the Constitution's equal protection clause?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *What Do Women Really Want?*

Women's groups across the country are fighting for the right to equal protection that has been consistently denied them by a sexist society. Convene a panel to discuss the question: "Can the law make women equal?" Panelists can include members of women's rights groups, female lawyers, female legislators, and female history or political science teachers from your local school, community college, or university.

- *Where do we go from here?*

Last year marked the twentieth anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling that separate is not equal. How do minority group members in your town assess the progress they have made since 1954? What remains to be accomplished to make the court ruling a reality? What barriers remain? Invite members of local minority groups to discuss this question informally with your group. From this interaction, come together as a group to define the problems and propose solutions.

- *Dividing the Coalition*

In its recent history, no issue has shaken the civil rights movement more than affirmative action. Convene a panel to discuss the question: "Affirmative Action: It's Action, but is it Affirmative?" Panel members could include leaders of women's and minority groups, affirmative action officers for businesses or colleges and universities, and a judge or a lawyer. Conclude by inviting members to express their own views on affirmative action.

- *Juvenile Justice?*

Begin by viewing "This Child is Rated X," a film that exposes the widespread injustice and inequality that prevail in America's juvenile justice system. Then invite an official from your local social services commission or a juvenile court judge to comment on aspects of the film as they relate to your community.

- *Kid Lib*

One of the newer concerns of civil libertarians is rights for children and students. Do the courts believe that equal protection should be guaranteed to all individuals regardless of age? If so, how might this view alter the relationships between parent and child or teacher and student? Explore this issue with a resource group from your community. Resource persons could include social workers, members of groups concerned with civil liberties, teachers or education administrators, and students. A lawyer or a judge could be invited to inform your group of any recent court actions related to this issue.

- *Over the Hill*

Another group currently seeking equal protection under the law is the elderly. Their concerns include pension reform and an end to credit discrimination and mandatory retirement policies, to name only a few. If there is a group in your community that is active in this area, invite its leaders and/or members to meet with you to discuss the problems of the elderly and their proposed solutions.

Members of the House Judiciary Committee during hearings on Articles of Impeachment, July 29, 1974.

Wide World Photos

"A More Perfect Union": The American Government

November 23 through December 20, 1975

America, too, is a political life. A very rare, risky, even fragile kind of political life—a democracy, in which (or so the theory goes) every citizen has an equal voice in the affairs of the country through his vote. What is unique about *our* form of democracy? The framers of our Constitution felt the need for "a more perfect Union" among the newly independent states and attempted to institute a political regime that would uniquely combine the advantages of liberty *and* stability. "Power checks power" was a maxim they followed, and they crafted a delicate balance among the institutions of the new Republic so that none would become too strong. How well has the doctrine of separation of powers among executive, legislative and judicial branches worked? Our theory of judicial review of the Constitution? Our political parties? For a long time not everybody had a vote. Now that the franchise is nearly universal, how much does the vote of a single individual matter? The men who wrote the Constitution thought that one key to a good society was to vest power in the people. But under democracy's system of "representative government", the people then delegate that power to elected officials whose performance may—or may not—please them. What can the people do if their displeasure grows too great?

"In Congress Assembled. . ."
A Representative Legislature
November 23 to November 29

"Can this National Legislature be competent to make laws for the free internal government of one people, living in climates so remote and whose 'Habits and Particular Interests' are and probably always will be so different?"
—Samuel Adams

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Is Congress Moribund? University of Chicago law professor Philip B. Kurland examines the decline of Congressional influence vis-à-vis the executive branch.

From Popular Periodicals

Retiring Senators offer suggestions for Congressional reform in "Six Senators Speak Out: What's Wrong with Congress" in the May 6, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 24-25).

- Public demands on elected officials take their toll, according to several retiring members of Congress in "House Dropouts: Why Are They Quitting" in the March 23, 1974 issue of *New Republic* (pp. 8-10).

- A former legislative assistant in the Senate traces the growth of the Congressional bureaucracy and the subsequent lethargy of the legislative branch in "Bloated Branch" published in the November 10, 1974 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (pp. 30-31+). A condensation of this article can be found in the March 1975 *Reader's Digest* titled "Congress: A Problem of Size" (pp. 113-17).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *The Congress and America's Future* by David Truman. This collection of essays by Congressional scholars explores a variety of topics ranging from internal distribution of power in both Houses to recent shifts in Congressional activities.

- *President and Congress* by Wilfred E. Binkley. This narrative history, bright with interesting anecdotes, traces the ebb and flow of presidential-congressional relationships from the first Congress and the first President through modern times.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *Who Runs Congress?* by Mark J. Green, et. al. This Ralph Nader Congress Report, one of several projected, encompasses campaign funding and the election process, Capitol culture, Capitol crime, lobbying and information, and executive preemption of Congress. The book is a compilation of the efforts of hundreds of volunteers.

- *Profiles in Courage* by John F. Kennedy. These profiles of eight American politicians who jeopardized and, in several cases, sacrificed their careers for the sake of a principle are sharp, moving, and provocative. Among those whom Kennedy portrays are John Adams, Daniel Webster, Thomas Hart Benton, Sam Houston, and Robert A. Taft.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- Is today's Congress the representative body it was originally intended to be? Or is it dominated by special interests?
- To what extent should a member of Congress vote the way the majority of his or her constituents would vote? To what extent should he or she vote to lead constituents?
- What steps can Congress take to re-assert its role as the branch of government responsible for initiating legislation?
- What in your opinion is the proper relationship between Congress and the President?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *Changes*

Was your local Congressional representative or Senator one of those who either resigned or was defeated at the polls during the last regular election? If so, invite him or her to discuss the issue of Congressional reform from the point of view of a former "insider."

- *Leading and Following*

As a representative of the majority who elected him or her, a Representative of Congress is expected to vote on the issues as his or her constituents would vote. On the other hand, a Representative of Congress is expected to take into consideration what is best for the nation. Invite a historian or political scientist from your local high school, community college, or university to discuss the ways in which this dilemma has been resolved historically. Then encourage each member to state and explain how his or her elected representative is expected to decide upon the issues.

- *From the Grass Roots*

Changing the composition of Congress must begin at the grass roots. How might such a goal be accomplished? What is the role of local political leaders, the state party structure, state interest groups? What are their stands on this issue? Convene a panel to explore this question with your group. Panel members might include county party leaders, a legislator or other official involved in your state's reapportionment, members of the state central committees of political parties, and representatives of minority and other special-interest groups.

- *Buying Votes*

Running for Congress is costly. Does this fact make it possible for interest groups in effect to purchase a political candidate who, in exchange for being elected, will vote according to the dictates of that group? Does this fact make it impossible for Congress to be a truly representative group? To learn more about the influence of contributors on candidates, bring together several campaign managers to discuss this issue and ask them to offer their ideas about how to make candidates less dependent on and hence less obligated to contributors.

A President: An Elected Executive
November 30 to December 6

"The buck stops here." —Harry S. Truman

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- The Presidency and the Founding Fathers. Federalist leader Alexander Hamilton attempts to quiet his contemporaries' distrust of the presidency.

- The President and the People. Frances Trollope, an Englishwoman, contrasts the familiarity that inevitably surrounds a new president with the pomp and circumstance typically accorded other heads of state.

- "Servants of the Servants of God." Historian and novelist Henry Adams aims his barbed wit at the process of selecting presidents.

- The Imperial Presidency. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a former presidential aide and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, discusses the impact of the Nixon years upon the growth of presidential power.

- The Crucible of Leadership. James MacGregor Burns, a professor and presidential biographer, argues the case for a strong presidency.

- The Presidency after Watergate. Distinguished journalists and political commentators speculate on the future of the presidency following one of the greatest political scandals in our country's history.

From Popular Periodicals

- Management techniques for chief executives are suggested by Peter Drucker in "How to Make the Presidency Manageable" in the November 1974 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 146-49 +).

- Given some safeguards to control the use of power, a strong presidency will ensure the best government in the future, argues Abe Fortas in "Strengthening Government to Cope with the Future: Encourage a Strong Executive Branch" in the November 9, 1974 issue of *New Republic* (pp. 34-35).

- Are there any reasons for keeping the vice presidency? In fact, there are only a few, argues Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in "Who Needs a Vice President?" in the May 1974 issue of *Atlantic* (pp. 37-44).

- A strong president is needed to counter the liberal press and bureaucracy, argues *National Review* senior editor, Jeffrey Hart, in "The Presidency—Shifting Conservative Perspectives" in the November 22, 1974 issue of *National Review* (pp. 1351-55).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *Presidential Power* by Richard Neustadt. Written against the backdrop of Eisenhower's presidency in the 1950s, this book is one of the first to analyze the limitations of presidential power.

- *The Washington Community* by James Young. Set in the days of Jefferson, Adams, and Monroe, this book shows how the perceptions of politics and life in Washington crippled the ability to govern during the early years of America's history.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *Plain Speaking* by Merle Miller. Through taped interviews with former President Harry Truman, his family, and associates, Merle Miller has compiled a portrait that is not so much a biography as an intimate and compelling conversation with an indelible personality—the uncommon common man.

- *The American Presidency* by Clinton Rossiter. Our recent national experience speaks to the thesis of this book: leave the presidency alone and unchanged. Rossiter focuses on the powers and limitations of the President from Washington to Eisenhower, his role through history, and changes in the office effected by Roosevelt and Truman.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- What are the merits of a strong presidency? A weak presidency?
- What are the advantages of keeping the presidency in balance with the other branches of government?
- Does the structure of the executive branch enable it to usurp the powers of other branches?
- Can Congress be held responsible for the increasing power that belongs to the modern-day presidency?
- To what extent is the President a leader and to what extent is he a follower of the nation's wishes?
- How can the President keep in touch with the people he was elected to serve?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *Power Checks Power*

Throughout history, Presidents have clashed with the other branches of government. For insights into these power struggles, begin by viewing "Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson," a film narrated by Herbert Hoover that traces Wilson's efforts to establish peace following World War I. Then invite a history teacher from your local school, community college, or university to comment on other historical clashes between Presidents, Congress, and the courts. Try to uncover the reasons for these disputes.

- *Here and Now*

Is a dictatorship possible in the United States? Yes, answered Sinclair Lewis in his 1935 novel, *It Can't Happen Here*, the story of a fascist dictatorship that flourished in the United States. Listen to portions of the Caedmon recording (TC-1387) "It Can't Happen Here" narrated by Lewis' son. Then convene a panel to discuss the proposition "It's already happening here—just look at the presidency." Panel members could include a historian and political scientist from your local school, community college, or university, members of a group concerned with civil liberties, and leaders of local political parties.

- *PR and the Presidency*

In today's media-conscious society, presidential candidates become merchandise to be packaged, advertised, and marketed. Is there any way to guarantee truth in the packaging—or any need to, given the voting public's search for and reliance on images? Begin by reading an excerpt from Joel McGinnis' *The Selling of the President*, an account of Richard Nixon's first successful campaign for the presidency. Invite a local public relations or advertising executive to discuss the ethical and technical issues involved in "selling" a political candidate.

- *Not For Me*

In America, every person can dream of growing up to be President. Most, however, eventually put that dream aside. To find out why, bring a group of public officials together to discuss "Why I stopped wanting to be President." Members of the group could include legislators, local elected officials, members of local commissions, judges, and city or state appointed officials.

"The Government": The Growth of Bureaucracy
December 7 to December 13

"Government, even in the best state, is but a necessary evil, in its worst state, an intolerable one."

—Thomas Paine

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- Diagnosing the Body Politic. Peter Drucker, a professor of management, and Richard Goodwin, a former special assistant to Presidents Johnson and Kennedy, discuss "Big Government" and its effects on the democratic process.

From Popular Periodicals

- The role of bureaucrats in running the government during the recent Watergate crisis is examined by political columnist Joseph Kraft in "Who's Running the Country?" in the April 1974 issue of *Atlantic* (pp. 56-60 +).

- The Office of Management and Budget is often more important to government than the President, argues *New York Times* White House Correspondent John Herbers in "Other Presidency" in the March 3, 1974 issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (pp. 16-17 +).

- A view of government employees as overpaid and underworked, coupled with good data on the growth of the government bureaucracy, is found in "Washington's Bureaucrats: Real Rulers of America" in the November 4, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 38-40 +).

- A view of the bureaucracy as the fourth branch of government can be found in "The Federal Bureaucracy" by Allan Damon in the August 1974 issue of *American Heritage* (pp. 65-68).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *The Twilight of the Presidency* by George Reedy. While examining the monarchical elements of the modern presidency, Reedy looks at the consequences of the White House staff's role as courtiers, rather than as advisors.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *Backroom Politics* by Bill and Nancy Boyarsky. In their book subtitled "How Your Local Politicians Work, Why Your Government Doesn't, and What You Can Do About It," the authors suggest a number of remedies to make government officials more responsive to the needs of the general public.

- *High on Foggy Bottom* by Charles Frankel. This inside account of the State Department during the troubled times of the Vietnam War gives an amusing picture of weighty bureaucracy. Frankel provides a rare look into the day-to-day life of an Assistant Secretary, tells of his snarls with congressional plutocrats, and suggests some creative reforms.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- Are the public's demands for services responsible for the rise of "big government?"
- Has the civil service system eliminated or institutionalized featherbedding?
- To whom do government bureaucrats owe their loyalty: to the people, to their immediate supervisor, or to the government as a whole?
- Does the bureaucracy wield excessive power? How can curbs be put on that power?
- Can the bureaucracy be made accountable to the public?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *Ending Patronage and Featherbedding*

When it was first implemented, civil service was hailed as the reform that would eliminate patronage and featherbedding in government agencies. Has the civil service system lived up to the public's expectations for it? Or has it institutionalized the ills it was originally meant to correct? Invite a representative from a U.S. Civil Service Commission Regional or Area Office to discuss the history and current operation of the merit system in government.

- *Standards of Service*

Despite popular opinion, many government bureaucrats work hard at their demanding jobs. View with your group "The Inventive Bunch," a slide/talk presentation by the U.S. Civil Service Commission about contributions of government employees to national life. Then invite administrators from government agencies in your town or nearby towns to discuss how they view their jobs, their public images, their loyalties, their responsibilities. If one of your members holds a job in government, he or she could lead the group discussion.

- *Bring It Under Control*

Is there any way to hold the bureaucracy accountable to the people it serves? Is there any way to stop its growth without cutting back on public services? Invite a member or leader of a nearby American Association for Public Administration to discuss this question with your group. Members can be encouraged to offer their suggestions for resolving this issue.

- *No Satisfaction*

One of the most frequent criticisms of the government bureaucracy is that it fails to deliver the services for which it is responsible. Many complain of delays, run-arounds, discourtesy, and unfair treatment. In fact, a number of groups have been organized solely to obtain services for people who have been repeatedly frustrated or ignored by the bureaucracy. Invite the leaders of several of these citizen action groups to share with your group the rationale for their operation and to suggest a few tactics that might be useful to members of your group.

"By Consent of the States. . ."
December 14 to December 20

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited to it by the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."
—Tenth Amendment to the Constitution

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses By Newspaper Reader, *Vol. I.*

- The Fate of Party Politics. David Broder argues for stronger national political parties and national programs designed to treat social ills.

From Popular Periodicals

- The advantages and pitfalls of the New Federalism are outlined by community action leader Greg Beyer in "Revenue Sharing and the New Federalism" in the January 1974 issue of *Society* (pp. 58-61).

- A survey report on the impact of the New Federalism throughout America's history is found in "We've Been Asked About: The Shift of Power Back to the Grass Roots" in the October 28, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 56-57).

- Have revenue-sharing funds gone to the communities that need them most? For one perspective, see "Revenue Sharing: Questioning the Use of Funds" in the June 22, 1974 issue of *New Republic* (pp. 7-9).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, *Vol. I.*

- *The End of Liberalism* by Theodore Lowi. Showing the negative effects of centralized government on the public, Lowi argues for decentralization and community control.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

- *The Megastates of America* by Neal R. Peirce. According to Peirce, the ten most populous states—New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Florida, Texas, and California—especially the large metropolitan areas within them, dominate every facet of life in the United States. He explores their essential characteristics, political structures, and potentials for leadership.

- *Boss* by Mike Royko. This view of the career of Chicago's long-time mayor provides not only a political history but a primer in power politics. Though Royko is clearly critical of Daley's administration, his book is an assault on the machinery of political organizations in Chicago, not just the boss.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- Are the states struggling today to maintain the powers or to regain them from the federal government?
- Does the delegation of power—from the federal government to state to local government—operate as the framers of the Constitution intended?
- Given the national scope of many current problems, is the federal government the logical leader and are the states the logical executers of problem-solving efforts?
- Have the functions of local government been reduced merely to housekeeping?
- Is the concept of revenue sharing only a token return of power to local governments?
- What is necessary for a reassertion of "localism" in our total government today?

Program Suggestions and Resources

- *Separation of Powers*

One of the most divisive conflicts at the Constitutional Convention concerned the separation of powers between the states and the federal government. Review the arguments of both sides by viewing "Inventing a Nation: The Making of the Constitution," a part of Alistair Cooke's *America* series. Then invite a government teacher to comment on the present operation of the compromise chosen by the Founding Fathers.

- *For the Good of the Community*

Invite the head of your local governing body or a member of that group to bring members up-to-date on revenue sharing in your community. Members can be encouraged to suggest uses for funds for which your town may qualify.

- *Federalism*

The arguments commonly raised against domination by the federal government and rebuttals to these arguments are offered in the film "Federalism and Mayor Bingham." View this film with your group and lead a discussion on the arguments it raised. A city, county, or township administrator could serve as a resource person and commentator.

- *From the Grass Roots*

In the power struggle between the states and the Federal government, what has happened to local governments? What initiatives remain in their hands? What is their relationship to the states? To the Federal government? Ask a local official to share his or her perspectives on this issue with your group.

SECTION III
SOME OTHER AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM RESOURCES

Since its announcement, the American Issues Forum has captured the interest and enthusiasm of various media, organizations, corporations, and state and community groups. As part of their participation in the Forum's discussions, many of these groups and organizations have developed programs and materials on various facets of the Forum's topics. The following is a list of these programs and materials and some suggestions about how to incorporate them into your local program planning.

American Issues Forum— Television and Radio

- At least two *major television networks* are planning a series of dramatic specials, features, and documentaries that will correspond to the Forum Calendar. These programs, by reaching the massive audience of television viewers, will provoke a serious, nationwide consideration of the monthly and weekly topics. In addition, network officials and producers have agreed to incorporate the Forum topics into all levels of their programming from public-service announcements and public affairs programs to talk/discussion shows and issue-oriented situation comedies. Consult your local television listings to learn when these programs will be aired.
- *Public television programs* designed to stimulate interest in Forum topics will be aired on public television stations during prime-time hours beginning in September. Developed by WNET/13, New York, the scripts for these monthly programs are deliberately open-ended to raise questions about the Forum topics. Each program will conclude with a discussion of the questions raised.

These programs will serve as excellent introductions to the Forum issues and as starting points for your monthly discussions. For information about program scheduling in your area, contact your local public television station. Video tapes of these programs will be made available to community groups upon request. For information about how to obtain these tapes for use in your programs, contact Dr. Donald Fouser, Project Director, WNET/13, 304 West 58th Street, New York, New York 10019.

- A series of nine, monthly, three-hour *radio forums* can be heard on your local public radio station the first Saturday of every month beginning in September. A project of National Public Radio, "American Issues Radio Forum" will include presentations of the issues, discussions by leading national figures, and a unique national call-in session to encourage participation by citizens across the country. All of these sessions, which will be broadcast between 11:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. E.S.T., will be hosted by Robert Cromie, the Peabody Award-winning host of the nationally-syndicated television show "Book Beat."

These programs will provide a convenient way for members of your group to obtain background information on the American Issues Forum topics each month. Program information on each radio forum will be available from your local public radio station and can be publicized in your newsletter or meeting announcements. Since the call-in number is toll-free, members should be encouraged to phone in their questions and comments.

For those interested, cassettes of each radio forum will be made available to the public for $2.00 each, plus a $5.00 handling charge. For information on purchasing these cassettes, contact Dr. Jack Mitchell, Director of Informational Programs, National Public Radio, 2025 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

American Issues Forum— Speakers

- High-school and college students participating in the *Bicentennial Youth Debates* would welcome the opportunity to participate in your American Issues Forum discussions. Between 12,000 and 15,000 schools are expected to have students participating in these nationwide debates. Sponsored by the Speech Communication Association, these debates will begin as a series of competitions at the local level, and then culminate in a special program of activities to be held in Washington, D.C.

You might consider inviting student debaters to speak at your meetings and to present opposing viewpoints on an issue-related resolution or to advocate or defend their respective positions on a particular issue. These presentations can be followed by question-and-answer sessions or by group discussions. Another way to involve debaters in your programs is to organize student-adult debates. Group surveys might be taken before and after these debates to determine whether or not they effected any change of opinion.

If you are interested in inviting Bicentennial Youth Debaters to attend your group's programs, contact your local high school or college for the names of local participants. If these schools are not involved, contact one of the eight regional directors listed below for information on the nearest competing educational institution. Regional directors also can provide information about the *BYD Participant Guide*, which contains a list of debate topics, and the *BYD Issue Analysis*, a resource book that introduces the topics with essays, reading materials, and a bibliography. There is no charge for these items.

REGIONAL DIRECTORS

Irene Matlon
Amherst High School
Triangle Street
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002
413/549-2810

NORTHEAST

Connecticut
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
New York
Rhode Island
Vermont

David Horn
Bishop McDevitt High School
205 Royal Avenue
Wyncote, Pennsylvania 19095
215/885-0858

MID-ATLANTIC

Delaware
District of Columbia
Maryland
New Jersey
Pennsylvania

Lannie Katzman
Toledo Start High School
2061 Farragut Street
Toledo, Ohio 43613
419/473-1119

CENTRAL

Indiana
Kentucky
Ohio
Virginia
West Virginia

John Bloodworth
University of Georgia
Department of Management
Athens, Georgia 30602
404/542-7281

SOUTHEAST

Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee

John Crain
Notre Dame High School
2821 Lansing Boulevard
Wichita Falls, Texas 76309
817/692-7202

SOUTHWEST

Arizona
Colorado
Louisiana
New Mexico
Oklahoma
Texas
Utah

Steve Davis
Glenbrook North High School
Northbrook, Illinois 60062
312/564-1246

MIDWEST

Arkansas
Illinois
Iowa
Kansas
Missouri
Nebraska

Donald Ritzenhein
Wayne State University
Department of
Speech Communication and Theatre
Detroit, Michigan 48202
313/577-2318

NORTH-CENTRAL

Michigan
Minnesota
Montana
North Dakota
South Dakota
Wisconsin
Wyoming

Louis W. Cockerham
University of Redlands
Department of Speech Communication
Redlands, California 92373
714/793-2444

PACIFIC

Alaska
California
Hawaii
Idaho
Nevada
Oregon
Washington

- The American Society of Newspaper Editors will provide knowledgeable *editors as speakers and resource persons* for Forum programs related to press freedom. For the name of a resource person in your area, contact William H. Hornby, Executive Editor, *The Denver Post,* P.O. Box 1709, Denver, Colorado 80201.
- The United States Civil Service Commission Regional and Area Offices offer *speakers on the merit system in government.* To engage a speaker, contact a U.S. Civil Service Commission Regional or Area Office (there is one located in most metropolitan areas). To locate the office nearest you, check your phone book under U.S. Government for the U.S. Civil Service Commission listing.
- Members of local *Toastmasters* Clubs and Speakers Bureaus may be available to speak to your group on Forum topics. Background on each forum topic will be published each month in the group's publication, *The Toastmaster.* For information on speakers from Toastmasters Clubs, contact either your local club office or your State Bicentennial Commission.

American Issues Forum—Resource Lists

- The American Library Association has developed two *reading lists*—one for adults and one for young readers—to supplement the weekly Forum topics. These lists, which include fiction and nonfiction, records, and audiovisual materials, will be made available to the public through libraries, bookstores, and many national organizations.

The reading lists are a storehouse of inexpensive program ideas, since most of the books on them are available either from your local library or in paperback from your local bookstore. A book on each weekly topic can be reviewed by group members in preparation for your discussions. Parts of the list can be reproduced in your newsletters or meeting announcements as suggested background reading materials on each monthly or weekly Forum topic.

Copies of the list are available at your local community or school library. To obtain additional copies in quantities of less than 100, contact your state library agency. For quantities of more than 100, write to the Publishing Services Department, American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611. There is a $3.00 charge for each 100 copies of the list ordered.

The American Library Association also has limited quantities of a color poster that urges participation in the Forum. The poster, which sells for $1.00 (a 20 percent discount is offered on orders of ten or more), is available from the Publishing Services Department of the Association.

- A comprehensive, annotated *list of films* on each of the Forum's weekly topics has been prepared by the Educational Film Library Association. This list contains a wealth of materials for enriching your programs and discussions on Forum topics. Most of the films on the list are of moderate cost and length. To obtain copies of the list mail $1.00 per copy to the Educational Film Library Association, 17 West 60th Street, New York, New York 10023.

American Issues Forum— Points of View

Views of the Forum topics from the *local perspective of city, town, and countryside* are contained in a series of nine essays produced under the auspices of the American Association for State and Local History. These essays, written by outstanding scholar-writers, will be distributed to state and local historical societies.

To preview these essays, contact your local or state historical society. If you would like to make these perspectives available to members of your group as background material, copies are available for $1.00 each, or for $.50 each in quantities of 30 or more, from the American Association for State and Local History, 1400 Eighth Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee 37203. Attention: American Issues.

- An examination of the American Issues Forum topics from *ethnic perspectives* (primarily Eastern and Southern European) will be made available to approximately 750 ethnic-language community newspapers and radio stations throughout the country. The authors of these weekly articles, which are part of a project sponsored by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, are nationally renowned for their involvement in ethnic affairs.

If your group is interested in exploring the Forum topics from this perspective, contact your local ethnic newspaper or radio station to determine when the articles or programs will appear. Members can be advised of publication dates and/or airing times in advance of your meetings so that material can be used as a starting point for your group's discussions.

These articles and auxiliary materials will be made available to the public for a nominal fee. For additional information, contact Andy Leon Harney, Editor, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, 4408 Eighth Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017.

- If your group is concerned with *viewpoints on farming and/or life in rural and small-town America,* the materials being prepared by the National Grange may be useful in your discussions of the Forum topics. These materials also will provide a valuable perspective to groups based in or concerned with urban environments. For more information on these materials and how to obtain them, write to David R. Lambert, The National Grange, 1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

- Brief, provocative *statements for women's groups* on the Forum topics have been prepared by Women in Community Service, Inc. (WICS). These materials will be distributed to the four national organizations and two regional organizations that comprise the WICS coalition, and will be made available to the public at no charge as long as the supply lasts. Send requests to Ms. Mary A. Hallaren, Executive Director, WICS Inc., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

- Project Forward '76, the bicentennial group of the Interchurch Center, New York City, has developed several *tools for religious groups and organizations* to use in their discussions of the Forum topics. Their focus on the ethical and moral questions raised by the topics would add a vital dimension to your group's discussions.

Forum: Religion Speaks to American Issues contains background statements on all of the Forum issues. This paperback book sells for $2.95. *Ethics for Everybody,* a guide for discussion leaders, includes an ethical compass, a device useful in value clarification, as well as questions and other background material. A copy of this book is available to each group discussion leader at no charge. Additional copies can be purchased at cost and group rates are available for bulk orders.

A third tool developed by Project Forward '76 is a series of filmstrips designed to stimulate group discussions. These 10-minute, color presentations (with sound) cost $30.00. To order any of these materials or to obtain additional information, contact Charles Brackbill, Project Forward '76, Suite 1676, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

- Essays dealing with *minority viewpoints* on the first three American Issues Forum topics are being developed by the National Urban League. Distinguished scholars have been asked to prepare these essays, which will be published in September as a supplement to the League's newspaper, the *Urban League News.* To coincide with "Nation of Nations," the essay topic is "The Struggle for Black Culture"; with Land of Plenty, "The Struggle for Economic Equality"; and with "Certain Unalienable Rights," "The Struggle for Political Equality."

For information on how to obtain these essays for use by your group, contact James Williams, Director of Communications, National Urban League, 500 East 62nd Street, New York, New York 10022.

- Eighteen eminent scholars express *viewpoints of minority groups* on the Forum's topics in essays to be published in *The Crisis,* the monthly journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Each of the authors will discuss two of the weekly topics. Many of the other articles appearing in each issue of *The Crisis* also will be related to the Forum's topics.

If you are interested in sharing these viewpoins with members of your organization, consider subscribing to *The Crisis* (it is not available on the newsstands). A one-year subscription costs $6.00. Other places where you might find copies of the magazine are your local library or the offices of your local or state branch of the NAACP. For a brochure describing the essays and their authors, write to Warren Marr II, Editor, *The Crisis,* 1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019.

- An examination of the Forum topics from the *perspectives of elderly Americans* will be made available to newspapers throughout the country from The National Council on the Aging. These perspectives will take the form of newspaper columns authored by William Randall, professor emeritus of English, University of Maine. If you are interested in using these columns in your group programs, contact your local paper to determine the date the columns will appear. Members can be advised of publication dates and urged to read the columns to prepare for group discussions. For information on obtaining copies of the columns, contact the National Media Resource Center on Aging, The National Council on the Aging, Suite 504, 1828 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

- Pamphlets presenting the *labor perspective* on each monthly Forum topic are being prepared by the AFL-CIO. These pamphlets will be distributed to union members throughout the country through AFL-CIO publications. To obtain copies of the pamphlets for use in your discussions, contact Ms. Dorothy Shields, Division of Education, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

- Publications on many of the Forum's topics are available from the League of Women Voters. Many of these brief issue analyses are appropriate for inclusion in your meeting announcements to prepare members for forthcoming discussions. For a catalogue of these publications, contact Ms. Peggy Lampl, Executive Director, League of Women Voters, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

- *Community-oriented materials* designed to be used to stimulate community dialogues about current public policy issues have been prepared by the Citizen Involvement Network. Prepared to supplement each of the Forum's nine monthly topics, these materials provide background on a particular issue, statements on current problems, and information on steps being taken toward developing solutions. Communities of all sizes will find these materials useful in facilitating discussions.

For information about how to obtain these materials or about how your group can participate in a unique public opinion poll on policy choices currently facing the nation, contact Michael J. McManus, Town Meeting Director, Citizen Involvement Network, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

American Issues Forum—Regional, State, and Local Program Resources

- The University of Denver is coordinating *Forum programs in a six-state region* that includes Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming. Through its Board of Directors and a group of coordinators drawn from each of the six states, the University of Denver will provide information and supplementary materials for the Forum.

If your group is located in one of these six states and you are interested in becoming involved in a regional program, contact Dr. Robert E. Roeder, Office of the Dean, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80210.

- *State Humanities Committees* also can serve as reference points for your American Issues Forum program planning. These committees will make the Forum film and other relevant materials available to community groups and will fund Forum projects that coincide with their respective themes and guidelines. Below are the names of executive directors and addresses of State Humanities Committees.

Jack Geren
Executive Director
Alabama Committee for the Humanities and Public Policy
Box 700
Birmingham-Southern College
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Gary Holthaus
Executive Director
Alaska Humanities Forum
429 D Street, Rm. 211, Loussac Sogn Bldg.
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

Lorraine Frank
Executive Director
Arizona Council on the Humanities and Public Policy
Arizona Bank Building, Suite 716
34 W. Monroe St.
Phoenix, Arizona 85003

Anthony Dubé
Executive Director
Arkansas Humanities Program
Student Services Bldg., University of Arkansas, Little Rock
Little Rock, Arkansas 72204

Bruce Sievers
Executive Director
California Council on the Humanities and Public Policy
593 Market Street, Suite 900
San Francisco, California 94105

Patricia Shanks
Executive Director
Colorado Humanities Program
855 Broadway
Boulder, Colorado 80302

Marianne Barnaby
Executive Director
Connecticut Humanities Council
287 High Street, Wesleyan Station
Middletown, Connecticut 06457

Rona Finkelstein
Executive Director
Delaware Humanities Council
2600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware 19806

Donald Eastman, III
Executive Director

Florida Endowment for the Humanities
P.O. Box 12657
University Station
Gainesville, Florida 32604

J. Preston Prather
Executive Director
Committee for the Humanities in Georgia
c/o University of Georgia Center for Continuing Education
Athens, Georgia 30601

Annette Lew
Executive Director
Hawaii Committee for the Humanities
2615 S. King, Suite 3H
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Rose Bowman
Executive Director
The Association for the Humanities in Idaho
P.O. Box 424
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Laramie, Wyoming 82071

• Your state or territorial Bicentennial Commission can serve as a reference point for your American Issues Forum program planning. Your Bicentennial Commissions can provide information on the Forum and may be able to provide your group with the Forum film and related materials. Many Commissions are active in implementing Forum-related events. Your Bicentennial Commission also can inform you of any bicentennial activities scheduled for your area that have a tie-in with your group's American Issues Forum programs.

Below are the addresses and phone numbers of the 55 state and territorial Bicentennial Commissions.

ALABAMA ARBC
State Office Building, Rm. 509
Montgomery, Alabama 36104
205/269-7458

ALASKA ARBC
840 MacKay Building
338 Denali Street
Anchorage, Alaska 99501
907/274-6051

AMERICAN SAMOA Bicentennial Commission
c/o Government House
Pago Pago, American Samoa
96799
Call Operator

ARIZONA Bicentennial Commission
1807 North Central Avenue
Suite 108
Phoenix, Arizona 85004
606/271-4031

ARKANSAS Bicentennial Celebration Committee
Old State House
300 West Markham Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
501/371-2141

ARBC OF CALIFORNIA
1501 Eighth Street
Sacramento, California 95814
916/322-2794

COLORADO Centennial-Bicentennial Commission
Colorado County Penthouse
901 Sherman, 15th Floor
Denver, Colorado 80203
303/573-1876

CONNECTICUT ARBC
59 South Prospect Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06106
203/547-1776

DELAWARE ARBC
P.O. Box 2476
Wilmington, Delaware 19899
302/571-1776

D.C. Bicentennial Commission
1025 15th St., N.W. Suite 80
Washington, D.C. 20005
202/393-1976

FLORIDA Bicentennial Commission
P.O. Box 10207
Tallahassee, Florida 32302
904/222-1776

GEORGIA Commission for the National Bicentennial Celebration
1776 Peachtree, N.W.
Suite 520, South Wing
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
404/894-5780

GUAM ARBC
c/o University of Guam
P.O. Box EK
Agana, Guam 96910
Call Operator

HAWAII Bicentennial Commission
P.O. Box 2359
Honolulu, Hawaii 96804
808/548-4615

IDAHO ARBC
210 Main Street
Boise, Idaho 83702
208/384-3890

ILLINOIS Bicentennial Commission
410 North Michigan Avenue
Room 1044
Chicago, Illinois 60611
312/793-4581

INDIANA State Bicentennial Commission
State Office Building,
Room 504
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204
317/633-4217

IOWA ARBC
State House
Des Moines, Iowa 50319
515/288-8215

KANSAS ARBC
1518 North Broadway
Wichita, Kansas 67214
316/262-7404

KENTUCKY Historical Events Celebration Commission
Capitol Plaza Towers
Room 1005
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601
502/564-4524

LOUISIANA ARBC
P.O. Box 44343
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804
504/389-6752

MAINE State ARBC
State House
Augusta, Maine 04330
207/289-3220

MARYLAND Bicentennial Commission
2525 Riva Road
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301/267-5046

MASSACHUSETTS Revolutionary War Bicentennial Commission
10 Tremont Street, Room 64
Boston, Massachusetts 02108
617/727-5047

MICHIGAN Bicentennial Commission
T.M.L. Building, Suite #7
6425 South Pennsylvania Ave.
Lansing, Michigan 48910
517/373-1976

MINNESOTA ARBC
The State Capitol
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
612/296-5090

MISSISSIPPI ARBC
Department of Archives and History
P.O. Box 571
Jackson, Mississippi 39205
601/354-6218

ARBC of MISSOURI
P.O. Box 1776
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101
314/751-3784

MONTANA ARBC
Montana Historical Society
225 North Roberts Street
Helena, Montana 59601
406/449-3884

NEBRASKA ARBC
Radisson Cornhusker Hotel
13th and M Streets
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508
402/346-3400

NEVADA ARBC
Capitol Building
Carson City, Nevada 89701
702/882-7600

NEW HAMPSHIRE Bicentennial Commission
37 Pleasant Street
Concord, New Hampshire
03301
603/271-2100

NEW JERSEY ARB Celebration Commission
379 West State Street
Trenton, New Jersey 08618
609/292-6576

NEW MEXICO ARBC
141 East de Vargas
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501
505/827-3281

NEW YORK State ARBC
Office of State History
State Education Department
99 Washington Avenue
Albany, New York 12210
518/474-3931

NORTH CAROLINA ARBC
Department of Art, Culture and History
109 East Jones Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27601
919/829-2430

NORTH DAKOTA Bicentennial Commission
State Capitol Building
Room 206
Bismarck, North Dakota
58501
701/224-2424

OHIO American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Commission
Ohio Historical Center
Columbus, Ohio 43211
614/466-5803

OKLAHOMA ARBC
4040 North Lincoln Blvd.
Suite 107
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
73105
504/427-2477

ARBC of OREGON
P.O. Box 1399
Portland, Oregon 97207
503/229-4805

PENNSYLVANIA Bicentennial Commission
Wm. Penn Memorial Museum
5th Floor
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
17108
717/787-1976

PUERTO RICO Bicentennial Commission
La Fortaleza
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00901
809/724-3020

RHODE ISLAND Bicentennial Commission
Old State House
150 Benefit St.
Providence, Rhode Island
02903
401/272-1776

SOUTH CAROLINA ARBC
P.O. Box 1976
Columbia, South Carolina
29202
803/758-7855

SOUTH DAKOTA ARBC
State Capitol
Pierre, South Dakota 57501
608/224-3224

TENNESSEE ARBC
315 Capitol Towers
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
615/741-1774

ARBC of TEXAS
Executive Offices
210 University Hall
University of Texas at Arlington
Arlington, Texas 76019
817/461-1776

UTAH ARBC
State Capitol Building
Suite 403
Salt Lake City, Utah 84114
801/328-6026

VERMONT Bicentennial Commission
Box 195
Saxtons River, Vermont 05154
802/869-2338

VIRGINIA Independence Bicentennial Commission
Drawer JF
Williamsburg, Virginia 23185
804/229-1607

VIRGIN ISLANDS ARBC
P.O. Box 450
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
00801
809/774-4343

WASHINGTON STATE ARBC
c/o Washington State
Historical Society
315 North Stadium Way
Tacoma, Washington 98403
206/593-2830

WEST VIRGINIA ARBC
1900 Washington Street, East
Charleston, West Virginia
25305
304/348-3610

WISCONSIN ARBC
816 State Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
608/263-1776

WYOMING Bicentennial Commission
c/o State Archives and
Historical Department
Wyoming State Office Building
Cheyenne, Wyoming 82001
307/777-7776

• Five metropolitan areas in the United States are being aided by the National Endowment for the Humanities to undertake a series of urban programs related to the Forum topics. Special Forum Committees have been designated in each *American Issues Forum City* to coordinate city-wide Forum programs utilizing media, existing continuing education programs, supporting materials, and a local discussion format. These programs will continue throughout the bicentennial year.

If your group is located in the vicinity of one of these cities, it may be possible for your members to participate in these special programs. Even if these cities are too distant for direct participation, you may find that the activities they have planned will be useful in arranging Forum programs for your organization. Below is a list of the five cities and the names and addresses of the Forum Committee chairpersons.

- San Francisco
  Dr. J. S. Holliday, Director
  California Historical Society
  2090 Jackson Street
  San Francisco, California 94112

- Denver
  Dr. Robert Wright, Dean
  School of Urban Affairs
  Metropolitan State College
  Denver, Colorado 80204

- San Antonio
  Mr. Claud Stanush
  P.O. Box 897
  San Antonio, Texas 78293

- Chicago
  Dr. Stanley Katz
  The Law School
  University of Chicago
  Chicago, Illinois 60637

- St. Louis
  Division of Public Programs
  Department of Program Development
  National Endowment for the Humanities
  Washington, D.C. 20506

• Programs on Forum topics and how they relate to the future will be an integral part of the bicentennial activities of many of the 4,000 Bicentennial communities, cities, and towns across the country. Bicentennial Commissions in these communities have endorsed the Forum and are already developing their local programs. For information on these programs and how your group can participate, contact the chairperson of your local Bicentennial Commission.

Other Resources

• The national or international headquarters of your organization is a likely source of ideas for American Issues Forum programs. Many organizations are publicizing the Forum and offering program suggestions in their newsletters or other official publications. Some organizations will sponsor workshops or conferences based on Forum topics.

The following is a sampling of the many organizations that have developed general Forum programs:

Administration on Aging, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
American Association of Community and Junior Colleges
American Association of State Colleges and Universities
American Association of University Women
American Field Service
American Library Association
Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
Kiwanis International
League of Women Voters
National Assocation of Counties
National Association of Educational Broadcasters
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
National Conference on Social Welfare
National Education Association
National Institute of Senior Centers
Toastmasters International
U. S. Conference of Mayors

• Your local library, with the guidance of the American Library Association, is probably developing American Issues Forum programs. Contact your local librarian for information about these programs and how your group can participate.

• The electronic media serving your town are a convenient source of background information on American Issues Forum topics. Many local stations are developing Forum programs to compliment community Forum projects. To determine programming plans at local stations, contact the station manager. If no programming is scheduled, your group might work with the station to develop programs that could become a springboard for community discussions.

• Several national magazines have published or will publish special bicentennial issues. Articles in these issues, although not prepared with the Forum in mind, may relate to Forum topics. Since these are special issues, some of which will be collectors items, additional copies will most likely be available at a moderate cost, with special group rates. Watch your newsstands for these bicentennial editions.

SECTION IV
RESOURCE LOCATER

Many of the program suggestions in Section II incorporate audio-visual materials to stimulate or enrich American Issues Forum discussions. Each record, cassette tape, and film was selected for its relevance to the topic under discussion, as well as its moderate cost and general availability.

If you have decided to use any of these resources in your American Issues Forum programs, check first to see if they are available locally. Your community library or a high school, community college, or university library may have some of the records and cassette tapes in their holdings. Many of these institutions also may have audio-visual centers that have the films you want or can help you obtain them.

If you plan to rent a film through a distributor, remember to place your reservation well in advance of the date you plan to view it. Most distributors suggest placing reservations at least several months in advance. When writing to reserve a film, be sure to include alternate dates and a billing address. If the film you want is not available, consult the American Issues Forum Film List of the Educational Film Library Association for alternative titles (see Section III for information on how to obtain this list).

Records

All records suggested may be purchased or ordered from local record shops. Album numbers are included with the record reference in the text.

Cassette Tapes

The following cassette tapes may be ordered from The Center for Cassette Studies, 8110 Webb Avenue, North Hollywood, California 91605:

- A Nation of Immigrants (4862)
- Pioneer Saga (1511)
- Urban Slurb (16649)
- Today's Indian Wars (26823)
- To Secure These Rights (1103)
- "Racial and Ethnic Stereotyping in America" is a part of a 4-cassette set titled "Patterns in Pop Culture" and is available from Aural Press, Division of Instructional Communications, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008. Other topics covered in the set include American war songs; sexist songs; militancy, labor and song; and music of the suffragettes.

Films

All films listed below are 16mm with sound. Rental fees are not listed because they are subject to change. A list of distributors follows.

- Before the Mountain Was Moved
  59 min. color 1968
  Distributor: Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill
- Bill of Rights in Action: Freedom of Religion
  21 min. color 1970
  Distributor: BFA Educational Media
- . . . But What If The Dream Comes True?
  52 min. color 1972
  Distributor: Carousel Films, Inc.
- Challenge to America: The Role of Education in Intergroup Relations
  25 min. b & w
  Distributor: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
- This Child is Rated X
  53 min. color 1971
  Distributor: Film, Inc.
- Cities of the Future
  25 min. color 1967
  Distributor: Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill
- Federalism and Mayor Bingham
  20 min. b & w 1960
  Distributor: International Film Bureau, Inc.
- Free Press vs. Fair Trial by Jury—The Sheppard Case
  26 min. b&w 1969
  Distributor: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corp.
- Freedom to Read
  14 min. b&w
  Distributor: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
- Freedom to Speak: People of New York vs. Irving Feiner
  23 min. color 1967
  Distributor: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corp.
- Hard Times in the Country
  58 min. color 1970
  Distributor: Indiana University, Audio Visual Center
- The Huddled Masses
  52 min. color 1972
  Distributor: Time-Life Films
- The Inheritance
  52 min. b&w 1965
  Distributor: Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill

- Inventing a Nation: The Making of the Constitution
  52 min. color 1972
  Distributor: Time-Life Films
- Island in America
  28 min. color 1972
  Distributor: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
- An Island in Time (S-556)
  28 min. color
  Distributor: Association-Sterling Films
- Jane Kennedy—To Be Free
  27 min. color 1973
  Distributor: Indiana University, Audio Visual Center
- Journalism: Mirror, Mirror on the World?
  52 min. b&w 1968
  Distributor: Indiana University, Audio Visual Center
- The Journals of Lewis and Clark
  27 min. color 1965
  Distributor: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corp.
- Justice Delayed, Justice Denied
  40 min. b&w 1971
  Distributor: Carousel Films, Inc.
- The National Parks: America's Legacy
  24 min. color
  Distributor: Modern Film Rentals
- The North American Indian: Treaties Made—Treaties Broken
  18 min. color 1970
  Distributor: Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill
- North From Mexico: Exploration and Heritage
  20 min. color 1971
  Distributor: Greenwood Press
- The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson
  26 min. b&w 1961
  Distributor: Films, Inc.
- A Question of Values
  28 min. color 1972
  Distributor: National Audiovisual Center (GSA)
- The Real West
  51 min. b&w 1961
  Distributor: Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill
- The Silent Spring of Rachel Carson
  54 min. b&w 1963
  Distributor: Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill
- Smalltown, U.S.A.
  27 min. b&w 1965
  Distributor: Films, Inc.
- Storm of Strangers
  27 min. b&w 1970
  Distributor: ACI Films, Inc.
- Surveillance: Who's Watching?
  60 min. b&w 1973
  Distributor: Indiana University, Audio Visual Center
- Tenement
  40 min. b&w 1967
  Distributor: Carousel Films, Inc.
- Wasted Woods (S-562)
  15 min. color
  Distributor: Association-Sterling Films

Distributors

ACI Films, Inc.
35 West 45th Street
New York, NY 10036

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Association-Sterling Films
866 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022

BFA Educational Media
2211 Michigan Avenue
Santa Monica, CA 90404

Carousel Films, Inc.
1501 Broadway
New York, NY 10036

Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corp.
425 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, IL 60611

Films, Inc.
1144 Wilmette Avenue
Wilmette, IL 60091

Greenwood Press
51 Riverside Drive
Westport, CT 06880

Indiana University
Audio Visual Center
Bloomington, IN 47401

International Film Bureau, Inc.
332 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, IL 60604

Modern Film Rentals
WEST: 1145 N. McCadden Place
Los Angeles, CA 90038
MIDWEST: 1687 Elmhurst Road
Elk Grove Village, IL 60007
SOUTH: 412 W. Peachtree St., N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30308
NORTHEAST: 315 Springfield Avenue
Summit, NJ 07901

National Audiovisual Center (GSA)
Washington, D.C. 20409

Time-Life Films
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, NY 10020

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American Issues Forum I:

American Society in the Making

Newspaper Articles for the Third Course by Newspaper

Authors

Daniel Aaron
John Higham
John B. Jackson
Alan Barth
Doris H. Kearns
Michael E. Parrish

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PREFACE

The 18 articles in this booklet discuss some of the factors that have been influential in the making of American society and that will continue to influence future patterns of development. They focus on the peopling of the North American continent, the changing configuration of the national landscape, the emergence of a political ideology for a free society, and the formation of a democratic political structure. These articles were originally written for the third Course by Newspaper, AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM I: AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE MAKING, offered in the fall of 1975. A sequel course, AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM II, examines THE MOLDING OF AMERICAN VALUES.

This third Course by Newspaper was prepared specifically for the American Issues Forum, a national bicentennial program designed to encourage a dialogue among the American people on some of the issues that are fundamental to our society. Written by distinguished scholars and authors, these articles, appearing weekly in newspapers throughout the country, illuminate various aspects of the monthly Forum topics.

Daniel Aaron, Victor Thomas Professor of English and American Language and Literature at Harvard University, coordinated the course. Serving as assistant coordinators were Michael Parrish, Associate Professor of History at the University of California, San Diego, and Allen Weinstein, Associate Professor of History and Director of the American Studies Program at Smith College.

Courses by Newspaper, a national program originated and administered by University Extension, University of California, San Diego, develops materials for college-level courses. Hundreds of newspapers and participating colleges and universities throughout the country cooperate in presenting these courses to the general public.

A series of weekly newspaper articles, written by a prominent "faculty," constitutes the "lectures" for each course; a supplementary book of readings and a study guide are also available to interested readers. Finally, colleges within the circulation area of participating newspapers offer the opportunity to meet with local professors and earn college credit.

The first Course by Newspaper, "AMERICA AND THE FUTURE OF MAN," was offered in the fall of 1973, funded by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and a supplementary grant from the Exxon Education Foundation. The second course, IN SEARCH OF THE AMERICAN DREAM, appeared the following year. To date, 350 newspapers and 250 colleges have presented the courses. Approximately 15 million people have read the articles for each course.

The third Course by Newspaper is fully funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, a federal agency created in 1965 to support education, research, and public activity in the humanities. The American Issues Forum was also developed under the auspices of the National Endowment and co-sponsored by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Endowment for this unique educational offering.

We also wish to thank United Press International and the National Newspaper Association, which cooperated in distributing the articles to participating newspapers across the country.

The views presented in these articles, however, are those of the authors only, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the University of California or of the funding and distributing agencies.

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Introduction

Daniel Aaron

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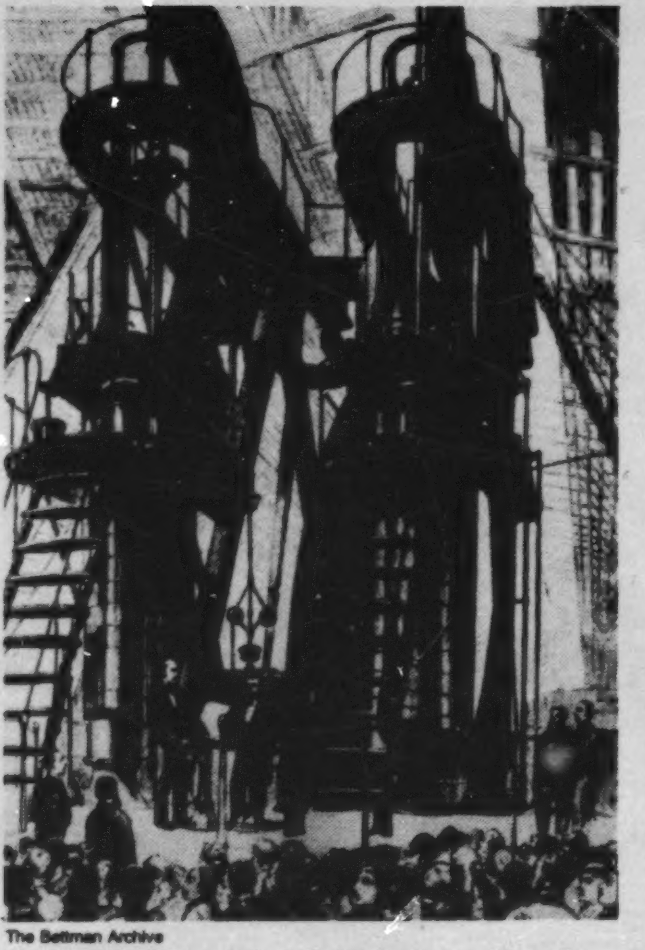
1. FROM CENTENNIAL TO BICENTENNIAL

Daniel Aaron



The Bettman Archive

President Grant (center) starts the Corliss engine at the centennial celebration, 1876.

Many of the questions about national purpose that were asked in 1876 must be asked again today.

The Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 marked the official opening of the nation's first century celebration, and millions of visitors came to gawk and marvel at the profusion of exhibits. In his centennial speech President Grant reminded his countrymen of the nation's stupendous progress since the days when it was new and partially settled. The United States, he asserted with pardonable exaggeration, now rivaled Europe in the arts and sciences. "Whilst proud of what we have done," he concluded, "we regret that we have not done more."

For those of us today who think the nation is morally if not economically bankrupt, it is worth recalling that many Americans in 1876 felt the same way. They worried about the economy and labor unrest and wholesale immorality; they gagged at the squalid scandals of the Grant administration. Politicians close to the President were being jailed or threatened with impeachment.

The country had already suffered three years of depression, and by the Centennial failing banks, falling wages and rising unemployment seemed to foreshadow even darker days ahead. Then as today the older generation agonized over the "youth problem" and "crime in the streets." And what was to be done with the unruly women liberationists, demanding the vote, some even threatening to foment a rebellion? No wonder many Americans looked longingly back to what they believed to be a simpler and less harried past.

"A NATION'S BANQUET"

America in 1876 had less reason than we to fear the future. Its enormous power would soon dazzle the world. If skeptics asked even then how this power would be used, few questioned President Grant's boast that the nation need no longer defer to the Old World. To paraphrase the speech of one poetic United States Senator, the tree of liberty planted in 1776 was "bearing golden fruit," and a grateful people now gathered around its trunk to feast on "a nation's banquet."

The exuberant ceremonial rhetoric inspired by the Centennial may seem out of keeping with the tone and mood of the Bicentennial. Doubts about the national purpose that troubled a thoughtful minority in 1876 are now shared by millions of our contemporaries. The already familiar questions they raised in that year must be asked again. Does the safety of the nation depend upon the character and intelligence of the electorate? Can or should the states resist the pull of controlled federal authority? Will the convulsions resulting from thickening urban populations and bankruptcy of cities compel a hearing for radical social solutions? "Truly," said a famous English visitor in 1876, "America has a great future before her; great in toil, in care, and in responsibility; great in true glory if she be guided in wisdom and righteousness; great in shame if she fail."

A BICENTENNIAL COURSE

These and other themes will pervade this third series of Courses by Newspaper—The American Issues Forum I—on the making of American society. The 18 "lectures" or articles comprising the Course have been synchronized with the first four topics of the Calendar of the American Issues Forum, a national program for the Bicentennial year. (A sequel course, American Issues Forum II, will discuss the molding of American values, beginning in January). These articles are intended to provoke as many questions as possible even if few are fully answered.

What *does* it mean to be an American? Why did the acute American novelist, Henry James, say that being an American was a "complex fate"? Why is the American system of government still referred to as an "experiment"? And more to the point, why at a time of recession at home and misery, hunger, and war abroad should we celebrate the Bicentennial at all? Are the American people really interested in conducting a national dialogue about their history, their social institutions, their values? Is the Bicentennial merely to be a mindless whitewash—an effort to convince the unconvinced that all is right with the Republic?

It's not hard to understand, for example, why some black Americans (as one black journalist put it) aren't "going around saying, 'wow, great, we were slaves in 1776.'" National holidays don't make second-class citizens, white or non-white, women or men, feel less second-class. History offers small consolation for the insulted and the injured. Yet historical excavation can often put the troubled present into clearer perspective.

As we ponder the meaning of the Bicentennial, do we not unthinkingly take for granted an important fact: that American society—though it limps and coughs and is speckled with warts—still functions reasonably well compared with most other societies and at a time when the majority of the world population is living under authoritarian rule? If Americans are less enlightened, fair-minded, unselfish, and efficient than their flatterers have claimed, are they any worse than the rest of what Mark Twain called "the damned human race"? We are the beneficiaries and victims of a past we did not create. We can't claim credit for the enormous natural resources that made our country rich and powerful; or for Old World institutions that changed and developed in a New World setting; or for the honorable achievements of our remote and recent forebears. Neither should we be held responsible for the folly, ignorance, shortsightedness, or cruelty of dead Americans.

The four sets of articles to follow during the next four months will discuss some of the nation's successes and failures, not in dry textbook fashion but as living history. The authors look back to the earliest days of the Republic—and forward into the present and future, singling out events from the past in order to illuminate America today. They examine what lies behind the taken-for-granted; what popular conceptions and misconceptions derive from fact, what from myth; what Americans can take pride in as a people and what they probably regret.

"AMERICANS"

John Higham opens the series. He is concerned with the American sense of identity, how successive waves of immigrants gradually coalesced into a people and came to think of themselves as 'Americans.' In the merging of various nationalities and races, the treatment of Indians and black Africans clashed with the claims of American ideologists. Nor were all immigrants considered suitable ingredients for the "Melting Pot." And yet, as Professor Higham shows, our history is in part the struggle of a people to realize its humane ideal of assimilation.

CHANGING LANDSCAPES

But America was a land before it became an idea, a visual landscape. The early settlers, English and Spanish, set about recreating Old World landscapes they were familiar with. The process by which a new series of landscapes emerged—and the ways in which they reflected the individuality, occupations, and social needs of the population—is the theme of John Brinckerhoff Jackson's articles.

MAINTAINING OUR FREEDOMS

These transformations occurred in a society dedicated to a representative form of government and under a Constitution, Alan Barth reminds us in the third set of articles, that make "the people" the sovereign. This "root premise of the American political experiment," he demonstrates, did not remain unchallenged. How four essential types of freedom—freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of the press, freedom from search and seizure, and equal protection under the laws—have been precariously maintained forms the substance of his articles.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

Doris Kearns, whose series completes the Course, also deals with the question of government and popular will. She addresses herself, however, to the process by which a simple, weak, and decentralized government evolved into the powerful centralized government of today. She traces the expansion of presidential power, the effects of technology on modern party politics, and other realities of American political life.

These articles reveal among other things the personal views of their authors—views which many readers may violently disagree with. That in itself is not a bad thing, since the main purpose of the American Issues Forum is to stimulate a nation-wide dialogue and to encourage a fresh assessment of American ideas and institutions. Nothing is more futile and, in the long run, more harmful than unreflective complacency or unreflective rage.

Our turbulent history can be instructive. It furnishes excellent examples of what can happen when ugly passions get out of hand. It also reveals how heroically—and with what energy and resolution—a sometimes foolish and forgetful people have faced their crises.

Unit I

A NATION OF NATIONS

John Higham

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2. BECOMING AMERICANS: THE CRUX OF UNITY

John Higham

Wide World Photos

Albert Einstein and daughter Margot (right) take oath of citizenship in New Jersey court, October, 1940.

Americans have often viewed their country, with its institutions rooted in freedom, as an asylum for the oppressed.

During the uproar over Watergate, foreigners were baffled and amazed by the passions aroused in the United States by official wrong-doing. In other parts of the world people took for granted a measure of corruption and abuse of power on the part of their rulers. The indignation of Americans seemed, by contrast, naively idealistic if not downright hypocritical. "You don't have a country over there," a German-based diplomat exclaimed, "you have a huge church."

There was a touch of truth to that light-hearted comment. It pointed up the strong vein of idealism in American politics, the national habit of looking upon government as a "sacred trust" and of holding elected officials as the stewards of that trust. "The American," said the philosopher George Santayana, "is an idealist working in matter."

From the very beginning, through all of the materialism and cynicism and self-interest in American life, has run a sense of universal mission and a genuine reverence for the symbols of that mission: the Declaration of Independence, the Statue of Liberty, the Supreme Court, the office of the President. "The Union," said Ralph Waldo Emerson, "is part of the religion of this people."

A CIVIL RELIGION

Yet no American associated the United States with "a church." Americans have thought of their country as a melting pot, a salad bowl, a magnet, a fortress, an asylum, a caravan, and especially as a "promised land." They have a "civil religion" with prophets, symbols, even rituals, but no established church. Indeed, this "civil religion" arose in large measure to take the place of a church.

The settlements out of which the United States emerged existed long before any consciousness of an American mission or identity; and what those settlements had in common above all else was their jealous localism, their distrust of remote, consolidated power, their determination to maintain their own particular liberties. Scattered over 1300 miles of the Atlantic coast, the English colonies in the 18th century were separated from one another to a degree hard to imagine today. Few people travelled from one province to another. Little news passed between them.

Most colonists also felt remote from their own provincial capital. While colonial assemblies continually hammered away at the power of royal governors and London officials, within each colony towns and districts that were relatively distant from the centers of trade felt the same distrust for the more cosmopolitan towns. In Massachusetts, for example, the principal political issues in the early 18th century were fought out between a "country party" which stood for local rights and a "court party," which rallied around royal authorities. In its anti-centralism, "country party" beliefs helped to spark the revolutionary movement because in every colony the revolutionary impulse sprang from a profound suspicion of concentrated, centralized power. No wonder it took well over a decade before the patriots of 1776 could bring themselves (only with great difficulty and reluctance) to create a genuinely national government. As for a national church, the very notion of one made them shudder.

A UNITY OF IDEAS

Still from these thirteen isolated, mutually suspicious little societies a nation was born. What tied it together? What enabled these quarrelsome populations to transform their temporary alliance against English power into a permanent union? Domination by a ruling oligarchy or an energetic government?

These did not exist in 1776, and the Revolution was generally thought to have spared America from the tyranny of either. An integrated economic system? That remained far in the future. Identification with a common national or religious origin? England and its established church were what Americans had rebelled against. To an extraordinary degree the young American republic depended for unity on the intense commitment of its people to a set of general ideas.

The ideology that gave the Americans their identity and sense of common purpose was linked to the special character of the political system that emerged from the American Revolution. Americans—or, at least, their spokesmen—believed that the new republic was created to benefit all mankind—to teach the world a lesson in power. Americans thought that, by basing governmental power entirely on the sovereignty of the people, and by dividing that power so that one portion balanced and checked another, they had discovered how to establish universal liberty but within an orderly social framework.

Americans saw themselves as missionaries, appointed to demonstrate the superiority of this new scheme of government. Their sense of mission helped to produce a kind of unity that did not require the dense social fabric, homogeneous population, or imposing structure of authority which other nations rested upon. In the absence of all these, the new American ideology raised to the level of universal principle the dispersion of power that characterized American life and institutions.

DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS

Any nation that sees itself incarnating an idea sets an exalted standard for itself. It may achieve much. Yet it also risks falling captive to dangerous illusions. In American history three illusions have repeatedly disfigured our ideological goals.

First, an ideology—even one that is pledged to liberty—tends toward orthodoxy. Strictness of belief easily becomes a test of membership in the community. Unavoidable differences of interest or attitude are magnified into fundamental principles; opposition is seen as heresy. The party struggles of the Jeffersonian period resounded with fierce charges of disloyalty on both sides, and Jefferson himself dealt ruthlessly with opponents whom he suspected of spreading subversive doctrines.

Since then, almost every major national crisis has spawned its self-appointed saviors to ferret out the corrupters of the republic. Ideological fervor also accounts for the habit of calling undesirable people or attitudes "unAmerican," a kind of exclusiveness without parallel in other democratic societies.

Second, ideologies create illusions about the course of history. Characteristically, an ideology predicts the victory under specified conditions of its true believers. It endows them thereby with a powerful sense of destiny. Just as Marx's assurances of the inevitable triumph of the proletariat gave communist movements enormous leverage, the confidence of 19th century Americans that their country was the spearhead of history probably contributed much to the scale and energy of westward expansion and economic growth.

On the other hand, where identity depends heavily on ideology the failure of prophecy can be highly demoralizing. Consider the cynicism and disillusion that afflicted the "Lost Generation" after the First World War, when the promises of Woodrow Wilson turned to ashes. Notice also the bitter hatred of America another idealistic generation felt in the 1960s when the illusions of the Cold War collapsed. At such times a society that has invested heavily in ideals begins to come apart.

Third, and perhaps most fateful, an ideology engenders a false sense of universality. It claims that the values of its adherents can and should prevail everywhere. It confuses its own aspirations with the world's. It fails to recognize how these aspirations have been shaped by a unique history and physical environment. George Bancroft, the first great historian of the United States, wrote as an ideologist when he declared: "Our country stands . . . as the realisation of the unity of the human race."

A "PRAGMATIC TEMPER"

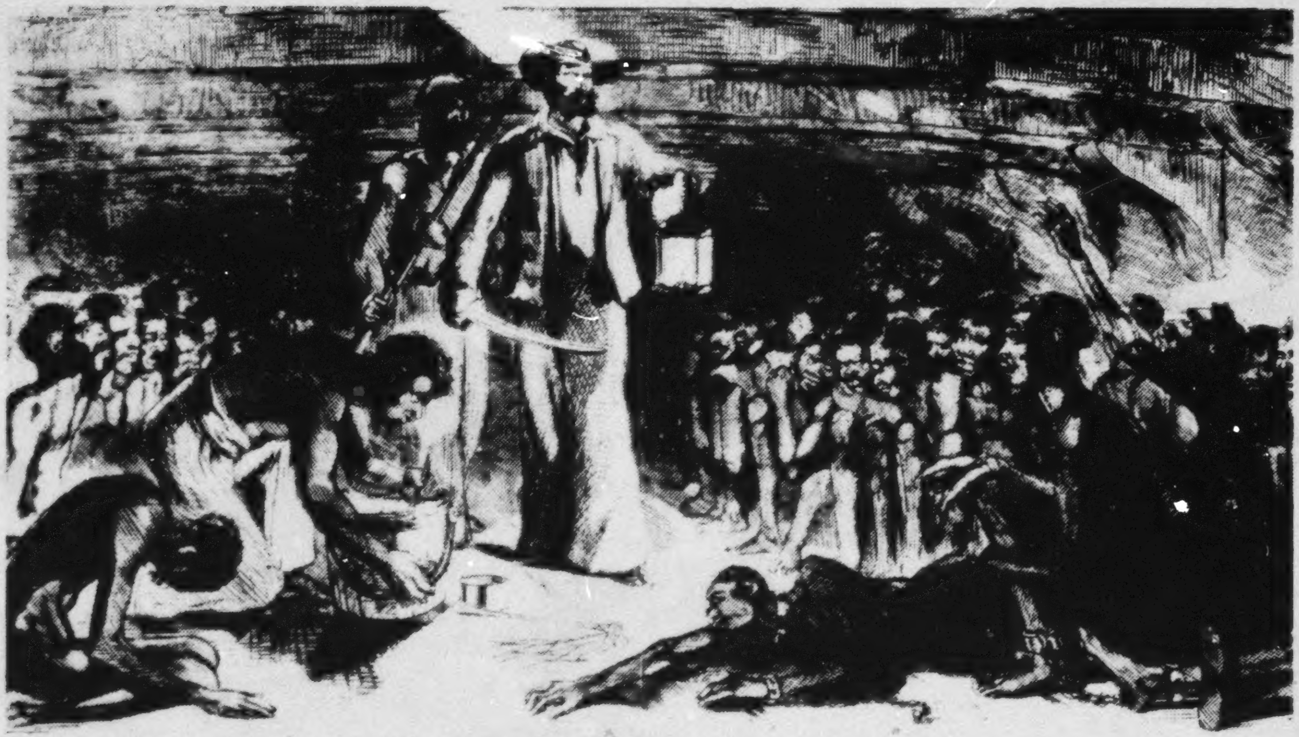
In many ways the ideological strain in American culture has been offset, perhaps fortunately, by a hard-headed practicality. Our so-called "pragmatic temper" has frequently blunted the sharp edge of ideological conflict, facilitated compromise, and helped Americans to accommodate ideal and reality. Abraham Lincoln's central role in American experience stems from his ability to defend ardently and articulate the pivotal beliefs of the republic while never losing sight of the practical and the possible. Lincoln was pre-eminently the "idealist working in matter."

Yet Lincoln too shared the pervasive American illusion of universality. According to our civil religion, American institutions were rooted in freedom and the nation divinely chosen to provide a model to the world. This belief obscured the facts. The Founding Fathers had not practiced it in their dealings with black and red races.

In drafting their case against royal authority, they addressed themselves specifically to Europeans and drew upon a predominantly English cultural heritage. "Freedom" principles did not apply to other races. The failure of the Founders to include all men in their charter of human rights turned out to be a fatal omission. As we shall see in the upcoming article, it stimulated the growth and defense of racism.

3. THE GREAT MIGRATIONS

John Higham



Revelations of a Slave Smuggler by Capt. Richard Drake

Scene in the hold of the "Blood-Stained Gloria."

Millions of Africans were brought to America in the 18th century as part of the largest forced migration in history.

Americans are an amazingly migratory people. Statisticians tell us that one out of five moves every year, and historians studying 19th century towns and neighborhoods often find that most of the people counted at one census have left before the next. Apparently no other modern, supposedly settled country has been so persistently restless.

In this vast, unending flux, six major movements stand out before our own time. These were, in the order of their inception: (1) the transit of people we call Indians, perhaps 30,000 years ago, across a land bridge that linked northeast Asia with Alaska and thence southward through the Americas; (2) the settlement of something like 100,000 English along the Atlantic coast in the 17th century; (3) an enormous slave trade, which carried millions of Africans to British North America, largely in the 18th century; (4) an emigration in the 18th century of northern European Protestants, chiefly from Ireland, Scotland, and the German Rhineland, most of them in the status of indentured servants; (5) the migration of whites and blacks westward across the North American continent from the 18th century to the 20th; (6) the convergence on the United States, between 1820 and 1930, of approximately 35,000,000 people from all quarters of Europe and large parts of Asia and the Western hemisphere.

THE FIRST AMERICANS

The earliest arrivals, the Indians, had almost nothing to gain and everything to lose from their encounter with the later comers. A people long isolated from contact with other races, the eastern woodland Indians depended on the prowess of their men as hunters and warriors. Inevitably, violence was the predominant theme in their relations with the incoming whites, who preempted land and stimulated a destructive fur trade. Over a span of two and a half centuries from the 1620s to the 1870s, Indians fought whites and often were drawn by whites into intensified conflicts with one another. Regularly, demoralization followed defeat.

Yet the worst effects of the white invasion flowed not from war or other conscious depredations but from disease. The native races of the western hemisphere had no experience with or immunity to such European and African diseases as small pox, measles, tuberculosis, malaria, yellow fever, typhoid, or typhus. Their devastation was incalculable. Some recent estimates suggest that the native population north of the Rio Grande River may have amounted to as much as 10,000,000 in the time of Columbus.

Within the United States a relentless decline reduced their numbers to a low point, in 1900, of 237,000. Since then, Indians have made a vigorous biological recovery, only to discover that the poor land remaining to them cannot support a growing population. So the Indians—America's poorest minority—are on the move again, this time into the cities. Meanwhile various groups are pushing to restore tribal lands and Indian self-respect.

IMPORTED AFRICANS

The Africans who were imported in the 17th and 18th centuries enjoyed certain advantages over Indians in coping with Englishmen. For one, the Africans had more resistance to many of the diseases that ravaged the Indians. For another, a larger percentage of Africans than Indians were agriculturalists whose respect for farming as a way of life matched that of the English. Finally, the total uprooting of Africans from their homelands, followed by a helter-skelter dispersion in the New World, pulverized their tribal identities—compelled them to adapt to new circumstances and allegiances. Native Americans, by contrast, clung inflexibly to their own way of life. Africans, by their ability to survive as farm laborers in the English colonies, made possible the enormous growth of slavery in North America.

In 1808 Congress prohibited further importation of slaves into the country. Since the immigration of whites continued, the proportion of the total population classified as Negro gradually declined. It fell from 22 per cent in 1770 to 14 per cent in 1860 and reached a low point of 9.6 per cent in 1930. In absolute numbers, however, the black population grew prodigiously throughout the slavery era. The health and fertility of American slaves were such that they increased almost as rapidly as the white Americans and much faster than the people of any European country.

SLAVERY'S AFTERMATH

After the closing of the slave trade, perhaps the most trying time for American blacks was from 1890 to 1940, long after emancipation, when the hopes the Civil War raised had largely collapsed. Before the War the inhumanity of slavery was sometimes softened somewhat by paternalistic attitudes. Though coerced and regimented, though bought and sold, slaves were commonly regarded as part of their owner's extended family.

After emancipation, especially during the Radical Reconstruction years, blacks gained new educational opportunities and a substantial measure of political power as well. But by the 1890s the gains were stopped or rolled back. Rigid barriers of segregation cut across the closer relations of an earlier day. Blacks were disfranchised, excluded from public office, ghettoized, pushed out of skilled trades, reduced to the most abject poverty in the rural South, and in many areas forced into a posture of cringing servility.

The crowning atrocity of this terrible era in race relations—the event it has burned most deeply in our collective memory—was the lynching party. From 1892 to 1904 more than 100 lynchings occurred every year. The oustanding Afro-American leader, W.E.B Du Bois, once saw a victim's black fingers displayed in a butcher shop.

LAND-HUNGRY STRANGERS

The African migration to Virginia, Maryland and Carolina had hardly begun when another great influx of strangers swelled the English colonies. Comparatively few Englishmen ventured overseas in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The growth of the middle colonies depended on a new migration from Ireland, Germany and Scotland at the same time that Africans were pouring into the plantation societies farther south. Pennsylvania especially welcomed these poor, land-hungry foreigners. Pushing inland in search of cheap land, these Irish, Germans, Scots and Scotch Irish settled territories which later joined the Union in its earliest decades. As they moved west, however, they avoided areas where slavery was being introduced. The westward movement became a competitive struggle between two social systems, one based on free labor, the other on slave. The strong current of European immigration, flowing to the free states, gave them a decisive advantage in that struggle. A recognition that the spread of slavery could no longer keep pace with an inexhaustible tide of immigration did much to drive the South toward secession.

THE SIXTH WAVE

Immigration to the new American nation in the 19th century became so voluminous and diverse that it deserves a distinct place in history. Whereas the non-English immigrants of the 18th century originated overwhelmingly in Protestant cultures that were not vastly different from England's, America after 1820 became the destination of people torn loose from more and more disparate backgrounds. So large a proportion of these newcomers were Catholics that by the middle of the 19th century the Roman Catholic Church was our biggest single denomination.

Another part of the migration was Jewish, arising first from Germany, then in far greater numbers from eastern Europe. Not only religious but also national and racial differences multiplied, until much of the United States had become a patchwork of dozens of different ethnic groups. Other developing countries attracted large-scale immigrations, but none gathered its people from so many different sources.

A harsh immigration restriction law in 1924 brought this sixth great folk movement of American history substantially to a close. But the reduction of foreign immigration to a relatively low level does not end the epic of American migrations. For example, by closing the nation's gates to cheap immigrant labor, Congress in the 1920s gave new impetus to a growing exodus of blacks from the rural South. Immobilized in previous decades because immigrants preempted the opportunities in the cities, blacks now surged northward in quest of the unskilled jobs that immigrants no longer monopolized.

Thus the tidal movements of a restless people continually assume new forms, but each is shaped by those that have gone before.

4. OUT OF MANY, ONE: PATTERNS OF ASSIMILATION

John Higham

Culver Pictures, Inc.

Immigrants in New York City's Lower East Side, about 1900. Millions of immigrants sought new opportunities in the United States and they were gradually assimilated into American society.

"We are the Romans of the modern world," observed Oliver Wendell Holmes, "the great assimilating people." Holmes' complacent comparison reminds us that the United States succeeded, as only Rome had done before, in opening opportunities to an extraordinary variety of peoples on the basis of a common citizenship and a single civic ideal. Yet the comparison has a negative side too. Neither Rome nor America became as all-embracing or as tolerant as official orators and poets declared them to be.

The concept of the United States as a universal nation—a new Rome destined to unify mankind —was a product of the American Revolution. To help justify their break with England, some Americans began defining themselves as a cosmopolitan people, no longer English. "Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men," declared a visiting Frenchman, with breath-taking assurance. Thus, the assimilation of diverse ethnic groups into something called 'American' became an ideological imperative.

THE MAKING OF AMERICANS

Throughout the 19th century a gradual intermixture of northern European Yankee elements went forward. New Englanders in upper New York state ceased to despise the old Dutch settlers. The descendants of the French in New Rochelle and elsewhere lost their national peculiarities. And by the end of the century comic magazines no longer portrayed the Irishman as a drunken lout with the face of a gorilla.

The softening of hostilities was partly the result of greater familiarity. What Yankee Protestant, for example, could observe the strict sexual morality of Irish Catholics and still believe that horrible orgies were going on in nunneries? Familiarity, however, is only a first step in assimilation. Carried further, it called for real effort on the part of the newcomers. To be fully accepted as an American, the immigrant had to keep moving; he had to move up the economic and social ladders.

Though most immigrants never reached beyond the bottom rung, the struggle for advancement brought material gains and, in the next generation especially, a wider social acceptance. As early as the 1830s, a German immigrant, John Jacob Astor, was the richest man in America. Fifty years later his grandson's wife, Mrs. William Astor, stood out as the most prominent of the great ladies who decided who really belonged to "high society" in New York. The Irish met more resistance. Nevertheless, by the 1880s, some of the biggest American cities had Irish Catholic mayors and millionaires. These were atypical cases, to be sure, but they encouraged the modest progress and accompanying assimilation of vast numbers of humbler people.

THE SCHOOL AS "MELTING POT"

The older Anglo-Americans generally believed that assimilation was a simple process, essentially political and cultural, rather than social and economic. Such absorption, they believed, required no great effort on anyone's part, least of all that of native Americans. Was not the United States founded on an idea so universally attractive that no reasonable person could refuse it? Assimilation would follow naturally from espousing the American idea.

To propagate and enforce that idea, only one institution seemed necessary in the 19th century: the common school. The early enthusiasm of Americans for public education reflected their trust in the school as the place where white children of many different backgrounds would be received into a unifying national faith.

In theory America was, as Lincoln said at Gettysburg, "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." In practice it was assumed to be a white man's country. Blacks were permitted only a limited degree of assimilation. Indians were officially treated as foreign nations. Orientals were feared and mixed breeds despised. In order to reconcile American practice with the universalism of American ideology, it was necessary to believe that non-whites were less than fully human. Thus, paradoxically, an ideology of freedom sharpened the racism the new nation inherited from its first settlers.

From an early date, however, men and women of good will have striven—sometimes wisely, sometimes foolishly, sometimes successfully, more often not—to bring the nation's practice closer to its theory. One initiative came from eastern humanitarians and churchmen, who were appalled by the cruelty of the American frontier. Protestant and Catholic missionaries worked throughout the 19th century to civilize the Indians and so integrate them into white society.

A few so-called "civilized" tribes succeeded in adapting to white ways until they fell victims to white rapacity; the majority could not. But assimilation became the official U.S. policy in the later 19th century. After the Indian wars ended, the Dawes Act (1887) proposed to break up the reservations and transform the Indians into individual, property-owning citizens.

EMANCIPATION

Before integrating either Indians or blacks was feasible, their dominion by force, whether through war or through slavery, had to end. For blacks the long road toward full assimilation began with emancipation. Around the end of the 18th century the northern states abolished slavery. Several decades later, in 1831, William Lloyd Garrison launched a fiery propaganda campaign for immediate abolition everywhere. In the abolitionist movement escaped slaves, such as Frederick Douglass, and other free blacks worked with whites. Afro-Americans comprised, for example, the great majority of the original subscribers to Garrison's newspaper. Although many abolitionists were not themselves free of prejudice, the most courageous of them looked beyond mere emancipation and insisted for the first time in American history on eradicating every form of discrimination.

Significant progress in this direction followed the Civil War. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments extended the protection of the Constitution to blacks as well as whites. But many decades passed before these guarantees were widely enforceable, and the movement toward assimilation received in the period from 1890 to 1940—"the segregation era"—a tremendous setback.

As we have already noted, the segregation and debasement of blacks reached an extreme in those decades. At the same time other groups in the population were treated in similar ways. Orientals, Jews, southern and eastern Europeans, and Mexicans were declared incapable of assimilation and hence a menace to American society. A climax of sorts arrived in 1942 when 110,000 Japanese, two-thirds of them native-born citizens, were hustled off to concentration camps without the slightest evidence of subversive intent on the part of any.

Why did a pattern of exclusion become so far-reaching in the early 20th century? Why did fears of ethnic and racial intermixture become so intense? No single explanation makes sense of the lynchings, riots, voting prohibitions, restricted covenants, and other discriminations of those years. Nonetheless, all of them seem in some way connected with the strains a decentralized nation had to undergo in becoming an urbanized, industrialized world power.

As individual freedom and local liberty seemed to be slipping away, the faith of many Americans in assimilation was gravely shaken. The underlying strain showed even in the efforts of minority spokesmen to refurbish traditional ideals by describing the United States as a great melting pot. The very image, invented by a Jewish playwright in 1908, suggested a fiery cauldron in a smoking industrial furnace. Inevitably, critics declared that the melting pot was boiling over.

SURVIVAL OF THE IDEAL

Despite the strains, the traditional ideal has survived. Assimilation not only continued, it became more powerful than ever before. The sweeping prejudice of the early 20th century actually speeded the assimilation it opposed. Determined to prove that they were Americans, almost every minority group concentrated fiercely on breaking out of ethnic ghettos and moving into the mainstream of American life.

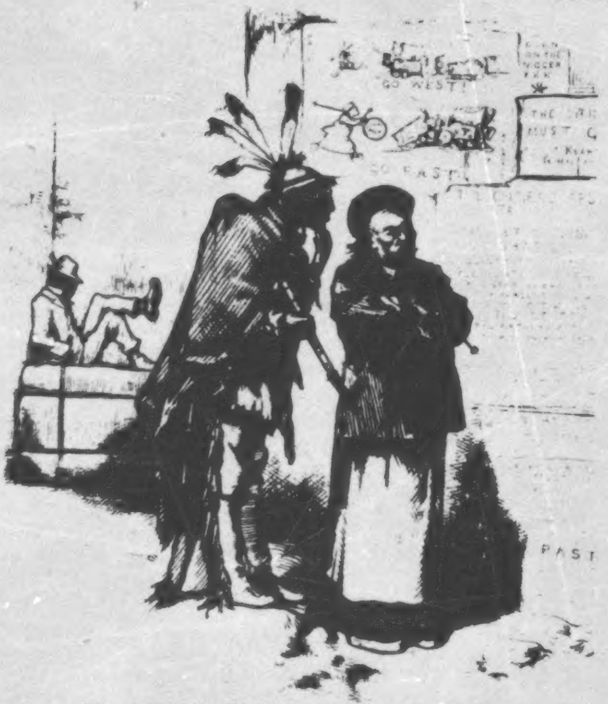
Sons and daughters of the newer immigrants from southern and eastern Europe led the way. Most of them got better jobs and educations than their parents had. Suppressing distinctive accents and mannerisms, they fled from the slums to the neat and colorless suburbs. By the 1950s eastern European Jews, Italians, Greeks, and Japanese were substantially repeating the earlier experience of the Germans and Irish.

Moreover, the international struggle against totalitarianism gave their common drive for acceptance a wider significance. Following World War II, a new awareness of the stake all Americans have in an open society produced at last a powerful legislative and judicial attack on all forms of racial separation.

As the legal barriers came down, Americans again turned, as they had in the 19th century, to the public school to fulfill at last the promise of American life. When the Supreme Court in 1954 ordered an end to educational segregation, the American public school faced its ultimate test.

5. WHO IS AN AMERICAN? RECONCILING DIVERSITY

John Higham


GO WEST!
GO EAST!
PAST

"Every Dog" (No Distinction of Color) "Has His Day."
Red Gentleman to Yellow Gentleman. "Pale face 'fraid you crowd him out, as he did me."

Cartoonist Thomas Nast comments on the anti-Chinese sentiment of the 1870s. Not all races have been included in American democracy.

What has assimilation cost us, so far as we have yet attained it? How much further should it go? In previous articles, we considered the enormous mixing of peoples that occurred in America between the 18th century and the mid-20th and we saw how a national ideal of universal freedom promoted the mixing.

That any sort of assimilation exacts a price, no one can doubt. In the experience of individuals it meant at the very least a transfer of loyalties: a surrender of one allegiance (whether it be to village, church, king, or clan) and the adoption of another. This in itself was often painful. The old loyalty, invested with all the warmth of a familiar past, must yield to an abstract one—some words on a piece of paper, which might or might not come true. Even if they did, the new American usually found himself wrenched from familiar moorings, plunged into far more change than he had expected.

ASSIMILATION'S PRICE

The new loyalty demanded new ways of speech, of dress, of behavior, perhaps even a new name. Before long the newcomer might feel the deepest foundations of his or her identity giving way. Before World War I a Jewish immigrant wrote of his early experience in New York: "The very clothes I wore and the very food I ate had a fatal effect on my religious habits. A whole book could be written on the influence of a starched collar and a necktie on a man who was brought up as I was."

The strain told severely on family relations too. An immigrant might work two or three years to bring his bride or sweetheart to the New World, only to discover when she arrived that centuries of social evolution now separated them. Divorce or psychological breakdown often followed. Strife between generations was even more common and just as devastating.

The newcomer's children learned a brassy, self-important Americanism in the streets and the public school. The more quickly they adapted to the new environment, the more stultifying the stodgy old ways of their parents seemed. Little wonder that the foreign-born mother, unable to speak English, scorned by her children, sometimes betrayed by her husband, was a doomed and tragic figure in many an immigrant novel.

As these family difficulties suggest, assimilation from the standpoint of an ethnic minority can be a species of disloyalty. When members of the minority break away from the community that has formed them to seek fulfillment in a wider world, they tear the fabric of personal relations and weaken what remains of the ethnic community.

In America, let us remember, assimilation has been achieved through migration and social advancement. Since the bolder, more enterprising, more gifted members of a group have more opportunity than others to leave, a high rate of assimilation can deprive an ethnic group of its ablest young people, its future leaders. We read often of the "contributions" or the "gifts" that outstanding ethnics have brought to American culture. But many such people have ignored their own origins. They should be counted as a loss to the groups from which they spring.

Within the various segments of the American population, conservatives have long warned their fellow ethnics against the corrosive effects of assimilation. One of the most eloquent was the Seneca chief, Red Jacket. To a Christian missionary he observed that the Great Spirit had put a great difference between his red and his white children. If He had intended the Indians to have the religion of the whites, He would have communicated it to their forefathers long ago. Let each race hold to its own way of life under penalty of divine displeasure!

Equally suspicious of assimilation, immigrant churches and synagogues labored to maintain the language and customs of their parishioners, convinced that those who lose their nationality are in danger of losing their faith and character.

ASSIMILATION'S PROBLEMS

A case against assimilation can also be made from the general American point of view. No one really knows how much intermixture of previously unrelated cultures can be described as an improvement in, or addition to, the country as a whole. Up to a point assimilation surely enriches, stimulates, and widens the "mainstream." Beyond that point, it may foment more problems than a society can handle. When the mingling of peoples raises the level of violence too high or intensifies too much the competition for limited resources, it becomes unacceptable.

If assimilation blends indiscriminately too many cultural ingredients, all may lose their flavor in a hodgepodge that satisfies no taste. In the early 20th century most native-born Americans thought that all of these things were happening. Losing confidence in assimilation, they imposed sharp restrictions on immigration and erected other discriminations against rising minorities.

In the midst of this tumult, a young philosopher, Horace Kallen, formulated the objections to assimilation in democratic terms. Kallen argued that resisting assimilation can be more than a narrow pursuit of self-interest on the part of a beleaguered group. By resisting assimilation all elements can realize freely their various potentialities. Every American ethnic group should strive to perfect its own special heritage, because the true spirit of American democracy is the right to be different. Kallen thought that a general recognition of what he called "cultural pluralism" would restore harmony while encouraging diversity. Little heeded when propounded in 1915, pluralist ideas have increasingly shaped our thinking on ethnic problems.

For some of the pluralists' claims, our history offers substantial support. American democracy relied from the outset on a separation and division of powers. Through the system of checks and balances, political pluralism was built into the Constitution. Moreover, Americans counted on a multiplicity of self-sustaining churches as the main guarantee of religious freedom. Consequently, the American ideology, the very basis of national unity, legitimates diversity.

In a sense cultural pluralists were only asking that the traditional association of liberty with a dispersion of power should reach beyond religion and politics. It should become a guiding principle for American culture and society.

Paradoxically, the amazingly rapid advance of assimilation in the 1940s and 1950s made pluralism seem more and more desirable. As the worst injustices of the early 20th century were redressed, people of every ethnic background were swept up in the pursuit of affluence. A disturbing vision of the consequences of assimilation formed in sensitive minds.

In obliterating differences, perhaps even becoming colorblind, were we moving into a world of grey uniformity in which everyone would feel rootless and powerless? Every forward step toward fuller integration enlarged centralized power and bureaucratic impersonality. Every victory for assimilation aroused new yearnings for a return to ethnicity.

ASSIMILATION AND PLURALISM

At the outset we posed the question, how far should assimilation go? Now the question has turned into its opposite: how different and divided can we be? In practice, pluralism has revealed harsh features Kallen's idealistic interpretation failed to notice. Kallen assumed that cultural differences can be preserved without perpetuating inequalities. We now know that ethnic groups are unequal in their cultural resources as well as the social and economic standing of their members. Accentuating their differences can serve to reinforce the disadvantages of some ethnic groups.

Moreover, such ethnic differences necessarily generate conflict. In itself that is not always bad. But the pluralist point of view offers no universal standard—no over-all conception of the good—which can keep ethnic strife within tolerable bounds. A democratic society requires a common culture that transcends its ethnic segments and commands their assent.

The dilemmas posed for the United States today by opposing demands for assimilation and pluralism have become painfully acute. Both the unifying thrust of integration and the self-respect of separate group identities seem essential to the common good. But how shall we combine the two?

The effort to do so must reckon with a tremendous disillusion. In the last decade the old trust in the public school as the key to integration has greatly dimmed. So has the closely connected faith in a unifying civic ideal, a national identity that all can share. More than ever, education is opening doors to talented and highly motivated individuals of every race. But it has not rectified the deeper inequalities in our society; and the idealism Americans have customarily drawn upon in facing those inequalities is running thin. To rekindle a faith that the country belongs to all of its people, and to clarify the ways in which all can feel at home in it, are not the least of the unfinished tasks of American history.

Unit II
THE LAND OF PLENTY

John B. Jackson

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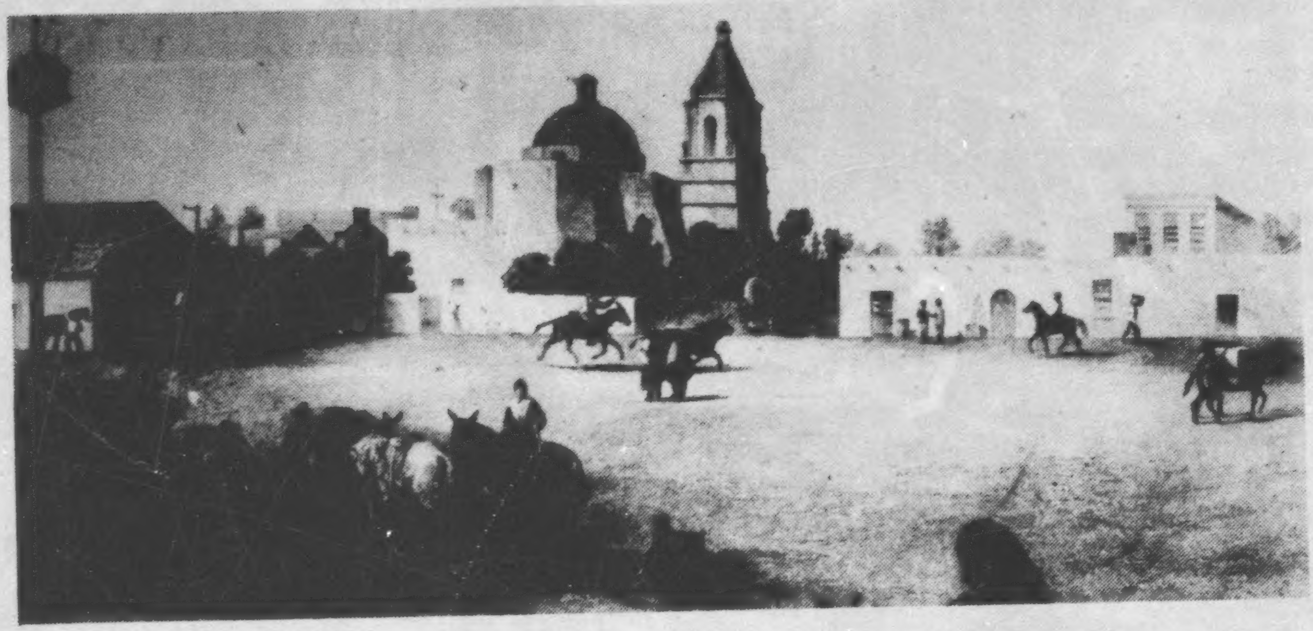
6.

THE LANDSCAPE OF STATUS

John B. Jackson



Charles Phelps Cushing/H. Armstrong Roberts

Military Plaza, San Antonio, Texas.
Settlements in the Southwest developed around a central plaza or square.

Landscape is history made visible. Over the past four centuries the word 'landscape' has had several meanings. Once it signified a *picture* of natural scenery; then the scenery itself, the natural environment. In the 18th century it meant the scenery created by men in parks and gardens. Now we use the word to indicate any outdoor space where men and natural environment interact. That is why we can speak of urban or industrial landscapes, and of landscapes to be improved by human actions.

All cultural landscapes (and the landscape of America is a case in point) have certain traits in common; well defined boundaries, a network of roads and paths, places where natural resources can be put to use, places for privacy, and places for social comingling.

The first settlers of New Mexico and Arizona, or Virginia and New England, had their own set of relationships which they sought to express in the small and primitive landscapes they carved out of the American wilderness. They did not come here to farm. The first English settlers, geographer Carl Sauer reminds us, "had little concern about places suitable for agricultural settlement. Farming was forced on the Colonists. . . . The fact that any group of overseas colonists needed above all else to sustain themselves by the products of their agriculture was understood very slowly."

IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY

Then what were they after? They were seeking the identity which has traditionally come from owning and occupying a piece of land, the visible identity of a landowner among other landowners. That is why we have to see those early landscapes of America as attempts to form communities where every man had a role to play and a place to occupy.

The policy makers in England and Spain may have visualized those first embattled settlements as strongholds of power, as the first steps in subduing and perhaps converting the native Indians. But the individual colonists, however eager they may have been for gold, were even more eager to be respected landowners.

Colonists who settled the Southwest in the last years of the 16th century lived in small, compact villages with a common pasture and plaza or square. Remembering their Mediterranean heritage, they dug irrigation ditches in that dry and mountainous region, planted the crops familiar to them—beans and onions and wheat and corn—and ran their livestock in the surrounding grass-grown hills. Their houses were the same adobe houses they had known in Mexico; there was little wood, the fields went unfenced, and their plow was little more than a crooked limb from a cottonwood tree. There were Indian raids, times of drought and sudden flood, and existence was often harsh. But each settler occupied a place in the social order, possessed an identity as a member of the group.

We visualize that early Southwestern landscape of bright green oases in the river valleys as not well cared for, as abused and overgrazed. Yet to those who lived there, it was land to be owned, land that gave status—infinitely rarer and more valuable than wealth or even security.

EFFICIENT ORGANIZERS

In almost every physical respect, the landscape of colonial New England differed from that of the Spanish Southwest, yet both groups shared important cultural similarities. The early Puritans were poor farmers but efficient village or town organizers. Each qualified member received a home-lot and a tillable strip. Land distribution was unequal but, as in the Southwestern villages, conferred status on the freeholder.

Climate, soil, and vegetation created special problems for the New Englanders. Cold winters threatened the livestock. Clearing the forest to plant corn was long and tedious work. More important than the patches of grain, oats, and rye were the meadows stretching out from the four-square meeting house in the center where all went to worship or to organize defense. And beyond extended the still formidable forest.

New Englanders confined their thoughts and aspirations to the town—not to the forest. They hunted there, of course, went there to trade with Indians for beaver skins or corn, or to cut down the tall pines excellent for ship building and for masts. No doubt some adventurous spirits chose to live solitary lives in the woods. But the forest was not part of their landscape or their set of values. To leave the community was to shirk your duty toward one's fellow men, or become a barbarian.

New Englanders worked hard, not only at farming their small diversified holdings but at shipbuilding, fishing, weaving, milling, and trading; but always in the company of others. For this was a landscape created to produce responsible members of society, and in the long run that was its most valuable product.

FEUDAL ESTATES

As for the Colonial South—Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina—the landscapes that evolved there were certainly different in form, but not very different in spirit. All started out as had the landscapes of the Southwest and New England: as landscapes composed of communities of landowners.

Unlike New England (but like the Southwest) Virginia allowed large areas of land to fall into the hands of rich or influential owners who saw themselves as masters of feudal estates. But in the early days land, even wilderness land, was too easy to acquire for settlers to choose a way of life which they had left Europe to escape.

Much more inviting was the ease with which new or recent settlers, particularly in the Southern and Middle colonies, were able to acquire land. And naturally enough the settlers chose the land which was fertile, and since there were few if any roads, accessible to a navigable river. That is one reason why the early landscapes of the South were widely scattered, isolated holdings along the banks of streams, and why the South, unlike the other two regions, did not develop towns or cities or what can be called an urban culture. Moreover, the profitability of tobacco, and farther south the profitability of indigo, meant that the land holdings were (whenever possible) devoted to the raising and exporting of one commercial crop—a situation quite unlike that of New England, though again somewhat similar to that of the Southwest with its great sheep ranches and horse farms.

It would be wrong to suppose that the Southern colonists were all plantation owners, interested merely in making money and living high. The majority were small farmers who raised several crops, selling perhaps a barrel or two of tobacco for cash, and more interested in raising cattle than in commercial agriculture. In fact the Old South can be looked upon as the birthplace of the cattle industry: the livestock (for lack of good grass) roamed the forest the year-round and were periodically rounded up by men on horseback and branded—the remote origins of the cowboy and the rodeo.

A SYMBOL OF STATUS

Land ownership could be good investment but as elsewhere in the New World, it was a symbol of status. Southerners often abused and neglected their land, but they cherished it as a means of playing a political role at the county courthouse. The political wisdom that the South showed at the time of the Revolution could only have derived from a lively social awareness, based largely on the identity of the landowner.

The landowner, however poor, was generally considered superior to the townsman—office holder or merchant or craftsman. And aristocratic planters did not fancy themselves in the role of anti-urban rustics; they saw themselves as country gentlemen, ready and willing to participate in public life.

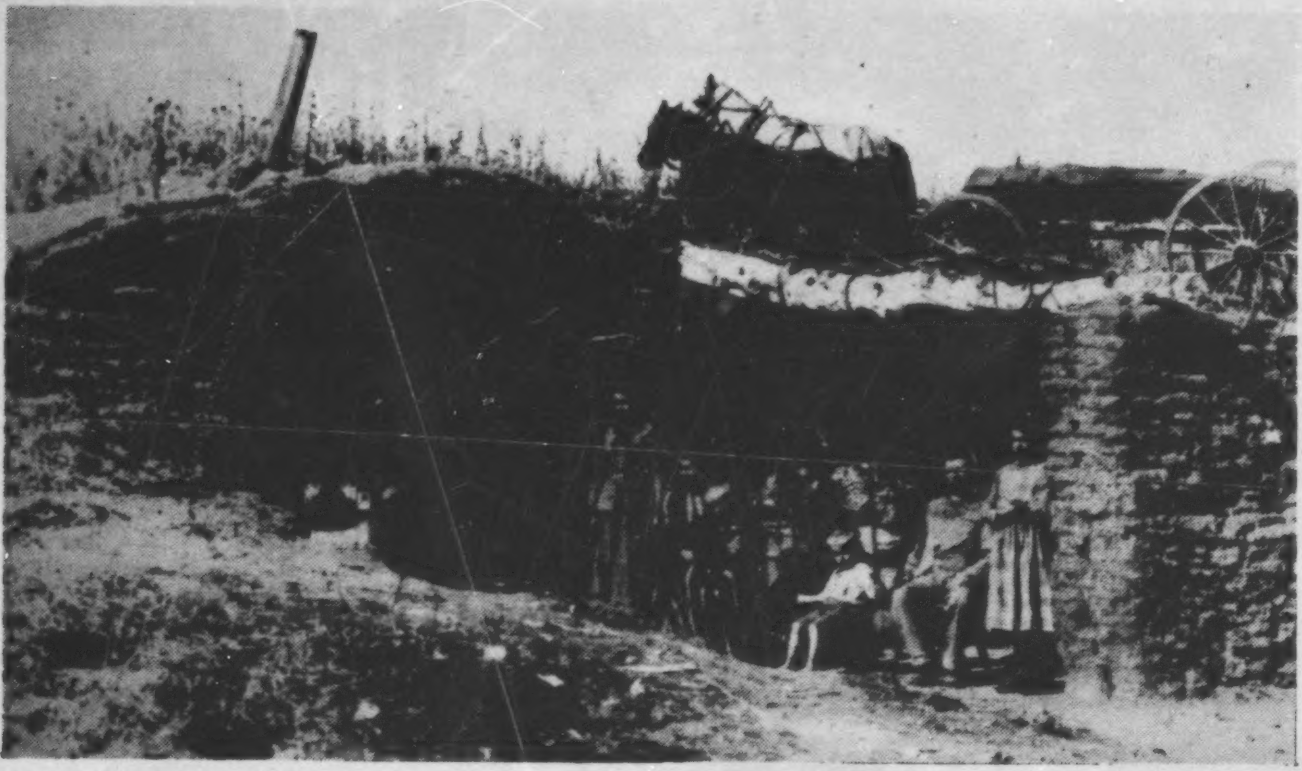
These three colonial landscapes were in many important respects very unlike: some of the inhabitants were non-English, had different faiths and lived in very different natural environments. Yet they shared a "land hunger," powerful enough to make them risk a perilous ocean crossing or the hazards of frontier life.

For that was an age when the ownership and occupancy of land conferred identity: an identity made visible and lasting by the presence of others. This is not how we value land today; it is not even how land was valued two hundred years ago, as we will see in the next article when we discuss the landscape that evolved at the time of the Revolution. But if we are to understand landscapes we must learn to interpret them not in simplistic terms of relationship to nature, but in the infinitely complex terms of human relationships.

7.

THE LANDSCAPE OF PRIVACY

John B. Jackson



Solomon D. Butcher Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society

Sod Dugout, Custer County, Nebraska, 1892.

The grid system of survey provided for a landscape of private family farms.

Whoever has flown over any part of the United States west of the Alleghenies has seen the vast landscape of rectangles and squares that extends beyond view in every direction. Even when we fly over desert or mountain some fragment of this rectangular layout is usually visible: a faint trail or a fence line or a solitary square field.

It is an amazing spectacle, without its equal in extent anywhere else in the world, a grid pattern of fields and roads and towns that covers more than two-thirds of the United States. If ever there was a national landscape this is it.

Who created it, and why? A common explanation is that it is the result of large-scale real estate promotion over the years. But it was actually created almost two centuries ago, in 1785 when the new republic acquired all the vacant land between the old colonies and the Mississippi.

In order to open this Northwest Territory to settlement and organize its administration, the Continental Congress authorized the National Survey, dividing the entire Territory into sections or square miles, with the lines running due north and south, and east and west. As the United States expanded westward the grid system was imposed on all the country as far as the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific.

PROMOTING EQUALITY

It looks like a very simple way of organizing landscape for future occupancy, and it is. And because it is so simple, so rectangular, and so monotonous (at least from the air), many Americans are unaware of the radical social philosophy behind it: it was a landscape designed to promote equality and independence among those who settled in the new territory. Largely inspired by Thomas Jefferson, the grid system represented a new relationship between men and the land.

The practice of dividing land into squares or rectangles is of course far older than the American grid system. There were grid systems in Egypt and Rome and in Japan; there were even small grid landscapes in Medieval England and France and Germany.

It has been favored for several reasons. Fast and easy to lay out, it can be expanded indefinitely, and it makes location and description very precise. It also makes supervision and control of the population relatively easy; these reasons—except for the last—explain the grid system's popularity in pioneer America.

As a consequence grid landscapes on a small scale took hold in Colonial America in the middle of the 18th century, a good generation before the Revolution. Many developments at the time made the old community-centered landscapes unsatisfactory. The worst of the Indian wars were over and people no longer saw the need for living in compact, defensible settlements. The population was growing fast, and many young Colonists wanted land of their own.

Yet the New England towns could not expand indefinitely, and the practice of living in the village and working in fields miles away became impractical. Also, tens of thousands of immigrants were arriving in North America—Scotch-Irish and Germans and Welsh. They had no liking for those tightly knit communities of the native born where everyone was fixed to a prescribed place and had to support the one established church; they wanted no part of the old hierarchical system.

A TIME OF CHANGE

Nor should it be overlooked that Colonial America in those years underwent an important religious experience. The so-called Great Awakening, led by Baptist missionaries, developed in many people an awareness of an individual emotional inner life that seemed to demand independence from the community's moral control. For the first time to many people there came a need for *private* life.

Hence the old village-centered landscape gradually broke up, and a new class of land speculators arose—men (or companies) who bought large tracts of wilderness from the provincial governments and sold them off to anyone who had the money or credit to buy them. George Washington was one such land promoter. It was easy to measure off squares or rectangles of, say, 160 acres, regardless of how they varied in topography, lay out a rough grid of roads or paths, and advertise for settlers.

A simple arrangement, and one which we modern Americans are very familiar with. But consider how new it must have been to the young settler of two hundred years ago! He asked no one's permission to move in on the new land; there were no religious or social qualifications. He could choose any piece of land he could afford to buy, and he could sell it if he wanted to. Furthermore in this new landscape there were none of the old obligations common to New England: church attendance, town meetings, sharing the community grazing lands and forests.

FRONTIER FARMERS

In short, he and his family could lead a happy private life, remote from political strife and the interference of town officials. This was when the word 'farmer' came into general use. It designated a man who lived and worked on property he owned in the country, and it distinguished him from the townsman.

These new grid-layout communities began to spring up in what was frontier America in the mid-1700s—in northern New England, in New York State, Pennsylvania, and throughout the mountain South. The system proved so popular that after the Revolution the government of the young Republic decided to apply it on a wide scale in the new country to the west. The first grid survey was in Ohio in 1786.

Actually the grid system is more complicated than it appears when seen from a plane. The law not only called for dividing the land into square miles, but for combining every 36 of these square miles (or sections) into townships. And in every township section 16 was set aside as a school section, intended to support a local school and thereby create the nucleus of a community.

Nevertheless, how scanty were the provisions for political activity! No land was set aside for towns or administrative centers, no roads were planned, no common lands for the benefit of the community, no provisions for parishes or counties or even states. How different from the old political landscape of earliest settlements.

Eventually, of course, those places and institutions evolved; but the landscape which developed can still be interpreted—even from the air—in terms of privacy and independence. The viewer looks down on neat farm houses, most of them a quarter of a mile from their neighbors, along the straight country roads; the small crossroads churches belonging to innumerable independent sects; the small schools—which were once rural America's answer to the town and its attempt to control education. Even the country towns with their identical blocks and their identical lots, each with its isolated house, are part of this defiantly private, self-reliant landscape which flourished during the first half of the 19th century, and which to many of us represents old-fashioned, traditional America.

INDEPENDENT STATUS

This landscape achieved its final form after the Revolution; but it started long before then; it started when men were looking for another way of identifying themselves. They were no longer willing simply to be members of a kind of political super-family, identified by the place they occupied, either in terms of land or in terms of social position.

They wanted instead the status of independent, self-reliant individuals, with the opportunity for self-improvement and growth. Discontent had taught them that change was necessary, and religious and emotional awakening had taught them that it was often desirable. The western land was one place where it could be achieved.

Settlers eventually discovered when they moved West that they had not only broken old ties with the political community but had also created a changing and unpredictable landscape. Their new neighbors were strangers who suddenly moved away to try their luck elsewhere, or who subdivided their land for a townsite, or who left their land in wilderness, in order to sell it later when the prices rose. The land was at first a commodity, to be bought or traded or sold.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was full of admiration for those versatile young Americans who were by turns farmer, hunter, Indian trader, newspaper editor, preacher; jacks-of-all-trades. Like the grid pattern which they lived in, they were ready to expand in every direction, to change and grow.

If the landscape had lost forever much of its old harmony, it had gained an invaluable ingredient: the notion of privacy. Perhaps it was the monotony and the lonely distances of this landscape that gave a dimension of inner depth to the lives of those who lived and died there.

8.

THE LANDSCAPE OF WORK

John B. Jackson

UPI-COMPIX

Aerial view of freeway, Los Angeles.

Urbanization in the 20th century has broken our traditional relationships with the land and has separated our places of residence from our places of work.

When Jefferson and his colleagues devised the grid system with its square townships and school sections, they envisioned a landscape of small, self-sufficient farms, their owners all actively engaged in local concerns. But as we have seen this ideal landscape did not materialize. The preference for privacy worked against formation of small, politically active communities and produced a pattern of scattered settlement still typical of much of the urban as well as the rural aspect of the United States.

The sudden availability of so much potentially valuable land gradually destroyed the traditional relationship to land. Men or corporations bought large tracts of land not for use but for purposes of future sale. The very poor who went west were often obliged to work for others as tenant farmers.

LAND AS A COMMODITY

Do these changes in land use and ownership signify that land had become merely a commodity? Horace Greeley sadly concluded that it was no longer an essential element in a man's identity, but rather, as he put it, "a mere merchandise like molasses and mackerel." But although land speculation was widespread throughout the 19th century, thousands of Americans identified land with productivity and growth.

They worked hard and sometimes ruthlessly to make their own fragment of the landscape productive and efficient.

This could lead to over-exploitation and mismanagement. Yet the possessors (or occupants) of land in antebellum America were responding to an apparently insatiable demand for all the products that farmers could send to market. Industries in the Northeast and Midwest demanded raw materials and coal and iron; expanding railroads used immense quantities of timber for ties and fuel and rolling stock. The new factory towns had to be fed, the cities (when almost all urban traffic was horse-drawn) constantly supplied with hay and corn. Indeed, at the time of the Civil War hay was the second largest crop in the United States.

TRANSFORMING RURAL AMERICA

These ever growing demands could never have been met by the self-sufficient farm with its slow routine and primitive methods. The whole rural landscape had to be transformed for greater production and efficiency by planning and engineering. As the farmer acquired more horse-drawn mechanical equipment, he was obliged to organize his work to develop mechanical skills, and (most important of all from the landscape point of view) to accommodate his whole farm to this new machinery. Fences disappeared, fields became larger, hillsides were allowed to revert to second growth. The barn became more spacious and better planned for work. Wretched country roads had to be improved if crops were to reach the railroad station in time.

And finally, with greater dependence on urban markets the farmer tended to neglect the nearby town and its limited services, to isolate himself from the local community and to think in terms of engineering efficiency.

A FARMING INDUSTRY

Not until after the Civil War did the new engineer-inspired rural landscape first attract attention. The immense corporate bonanza wheat farms, with fields sometimes larger in extent than Manhattan Island, sensationally demonstrated how the organization of work and time, first developed by factory engineers, could be successfully imitated in the Red River Valley of Minnesota and North Dakota, and a few years later in the Central Valley of California. In the 1880s western ranching gradually ceased to be a matter of exploiting the open range and became a complicated industry, closely related to railroad expansion and the commodity markets of the East. Large-scale cotton plantations, temporarily destroyed by the Civil War, reappeared, larger and more efficient than before.

Inevitably the visible aspect of the landscape changed as the landscape of small, self-sufficient farmers yielded to a less picturesque one. This was a landscape of specialized kinds of farming—wheat or cotton or dairying or livestock—large in scale, orderly and monotonous to view, but immensely productive and efficient by the standards of the time.

Did the average American resist this shift? Was he compelled to change his way of life simply because of economic pressures? Many students of the landscape believe so. But it was really not unnatural for the American countryman to aspire to be an efficient worker-producer, a small-scale engineer. After the Civil War the industrial engineer had become the single most powerful, most prestigious visible environmental force in the United States. It was the engineer who first urged America to conserve energy and to use it wisely: energy derived from water or coal or gas or oil or wood, energy in the form of steam and electricity, and ultimately energy in the form of human labor. That is why the wider landscape came to reflect the engineer philosophy, not only in such visible traits as railroads and coal mines and oil wells and hydroelectric dams and the multitude of factories and factory towns, but in standards of economy and health and work.

URBAN ENGINEERING

Between 1850 and the eve of World War II, the urban landscape reflected the acceptance of these engineering standards even more vividly than the rural. It was the city or town that totally rejected the traditional relationship between men and land. Only a favored minority of city dwellers owned the houses they occupied; the majority worked away from home, and great fortunes (and great power) came to those who owned land and leased it out to others.

The separation between place of work and place of residence is, of course, characteristic of every large town or city, but it is a relatively modern characteristic, and it is part of that radical change in our identity as human beings.

It is also part of another aspect of the modern city: the growth of places or districts or buildings with highly specialized uses. The village common or green or central square had been used for grazing cows or holding fairs or drills or for parking wagons during church. Now such open spaces are called parks and dedicated exclusively to recreation.

Likewise, in the old days you could use your land in town for whatever you liked; tanneries and livery stables and stores stood side by side with dwellings and schools. But by the time of the Civil War this mixture of functions was frowned upon, for the engineer philosophy correctly saw the need for the concentration of special uses, and for better sanitation. So little by little our towns and cities developed those sections and neighborhoods we are familiar with.

Most of us today have broken our ties with the rural landscape and pretty well forgotten the role that land had once played in the formation of national character and identity. This is not to say that the new industrial urban way of life always meant a lowering in the quality of the environment for the average American. Many small farmers were only too happy to exchange their exhausted acres and squalid houses for less strenuous work in a factory or behind a counter, and for a rented home in a city or company town.

A less happy consequence was that almost all significant experiences, good or bad, took place in the company of strangers, at prescribed times and in environments for which the average citizen did not and could not feel any personal attachment, such as sports and recreation areas.

NEW AMERICAN LANDSCAPES

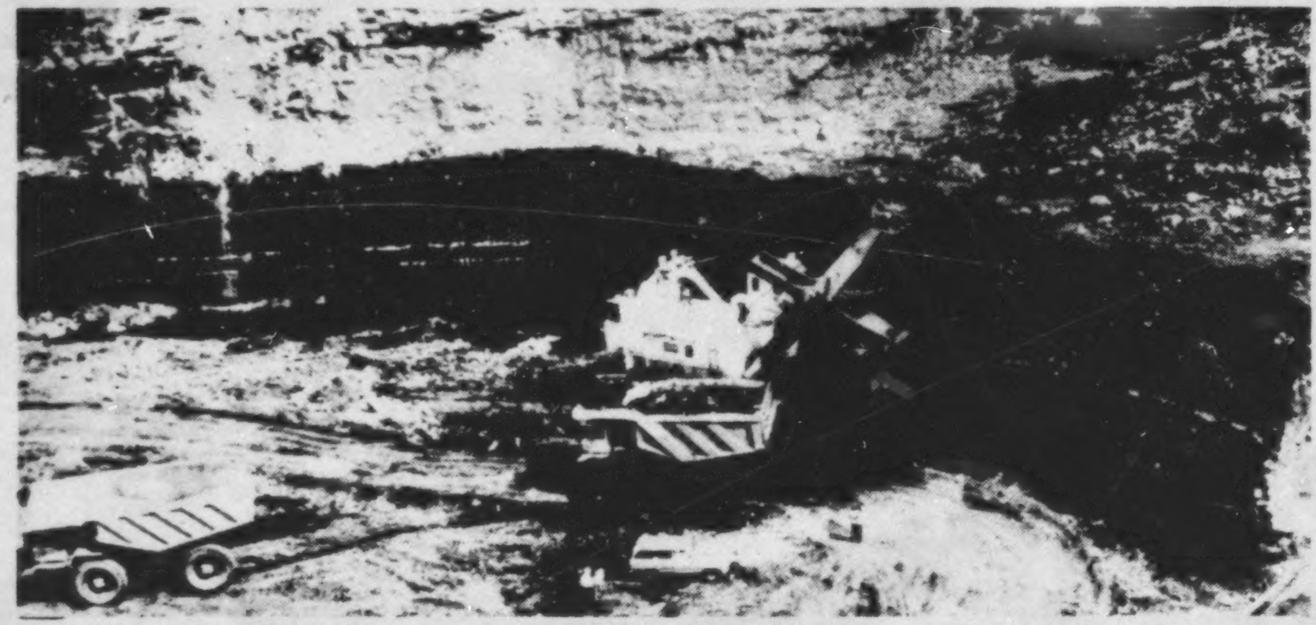
By the end of the first half of the 20th century the break between land and the average urbanized American was complete. The old covenant, once thought essential for the fulfillment of men and women, had been annulled. Gone was the procession of seasonal work, the centuries-old attachment to some place within a community.

Few changes in our American culture have been so profound as this one, and we are not yet entirely adjusted to it. But we should not exaggerate the consequences of this alienation and loss of visibility. We continue, *must* continue, to redefine ourselves, and in the process to create new landscapes. We are beginning to see that most valuable human qualities, like hydroponic vegetables, somehow manage to flourish even when they have no roots in the soil.

New relationships evolve with the natural world and with our fellow beings. And that is what is happening now: Another landscape is taking form here in America, under our eyes.

9. THE LANDSCAPE OF ECOLOGY

John B. Jackson



UPI-COMPIX

Strip-mining pit near Centralia, Washington.

The inhuman scale that technology has imposed on much of the landscape has stimulated the contemporary ecological-conservationist movement.

Little more than a century ago the American landscape began to reflect a new concept of society. The ancient Greek conception of individuals as political animals, members of the community, was gradually abandoned for the idea of human beings as workers or producers.

Inevitably, this changed view produced a different landscape. Land, instead of being an essential element in our visible identity, acquired several *different* functions. It was the place where we worked and lived, where we sought recreation or the society of others.

So a successful, even beautiful, landscape was seen as an economically productive one. Engineers became the ideal, for it was they who best planned their work, organized their methods, and scientifically defined their objectives.

We have already suggested how this radical change in our way of thinking modified the visible landscape, produced urban and rural spaces devoted to increasingly specialized uses, and led to increasingly complex methods of extracting, transmitting, and using various forms of energy, whether coal or oil or electricity. Scarcely a countryside in the United States does not somewhere bear the marks of this concern for energy.

CREATING LANDSCAPES

The greatest accomplishments of this engineer's approach to the environment have taken place within the last 50 years. The great dams built since the end of World War I—Boulder Dam, Grand Coulee, Bonneville, to name a few, along with the artificial lakes which they have impounded, are among the most extensive modifications of the earth's surface ever undertaken.

No less sensational as a triumph of technology and considerably more important to society was the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which improved river navigation, generated hydro-electric power, restored forests, modernized agriculture, and raised the standard of living for some three million inhabitants of Appalachia. No less spectacular or valuable was the work of the Soil Conservation Service during the Depression. A recent accomplishment of the engineer's philosophy is the Interstate Highway system—a form of energy transmission whose profound impact not only on the landscape but on our whole culture-remains to be assessed.

Technological intervention in the natural order was not confined to the landscape. Plant and animal geneticists have made other forms of life more productive or more easily processed, created new breeds, altered the composition of soils. Nowhere, in fact, are the triumphs of technology more vividly apparent than on the modern commercial farms of the Middle and Far West.

Whether these various modifications of the environment represent the 'Conquest of Nature' or the 'Destruction of Nature' depends on the observer's point of view. Certainly the present generation of scientists and technologists has done more to transform both the visible and invisible aspects of our landscape than their counter-parts in previous centuries.

But the distinguishing feature of this new technological landscape is not its magnitude but its overall purpose: to replace an *individual* relationship with the environment by a *social* or *collective* one. For the evolving new landscape, whatever its concern for energy and production, is preoccupied with such social needs as recreation, health, communication and housing. We are merely at the beginning of a time when public authorities (always acting, democratically or otherwise, according to plan) will provide us with recreation and vacation areas, facilities for medical care, family care and old age assistance.

The ancient individual landscape will dissolve (except where preserved for tourist or educational purposes) and be replaced by a welfare landscape, more generous in scale, more orderly and efficient, inhabited not by autonomous individuals but by employees and managers and "staff."

TECHNOLOGICAL BLUNDERING

Inevitably, mistakes have been made in the creation of the technological welfare landscape, especially in our high-handed modification of the natural environment. We have embarked on many a wasteful and dangerous course and our self-assurance as technicians and planners has often been misplaced. We have become consumers rather than creators of landscape values but, like all consumers, increasingly critical and suspicious of the environmental products and services offered us. They are often better than what we could produce by ourselves, but an essential ingredient, a sympathetic flow between people and their environment, is missing.

The contemporary ecological-conservationist movement is in part a reaction to the destruction of the natural environment by technology. It registers the collective resentment of the inhuman scale imposed on so much of the landscape, resentment of pollution and waste and reckless expansion.

Few popular movements have started so modestly and achieved such results so quickly as this one. Many battles lie ahead, and doubtless not a few setbacks; but is it too optimistic, even now, to anticipate a landscape where air and water pollution will be greatly reduced, threats to public health eliminated, and natural resources wisely used. Certainly we can count on greater restraint in constructing dams and highways and power plants in inappropriate locations. We are learning to design our buildings and even our communities to conform to their scenic and ecological setting.

These improvements and reforms, radical though some of them may be, are by no means improbable in the decades to come, and our grandchildren may well live in a harmonious and efficient environment such as we can only dream of. Yet we should ask ourselves whether this ecological landscape pays sufficient regard to the individual citizen's role in the new order.

Our contemporary landscape reformers encourage each of us to *refrain* from littering or polluting or destroying or producing too many children. Much is said about the need to adjust one's diet, shelter, work, and recreation to the natural order but little about the new *social* order itself.

No utopian landscape is ever realized in its entirety; but every cultural landscape is initially based on the desire for better relations between people. In our American past we created a landscape where citizens could work and become independent and active. What now seems all important for many earnest Americans is not human relationships but the relationship between people and the natural environment.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONING

It is a highly important one; we neglected it in the past and we will never dare ignore it again. But many are troubled by this vision of mankind as essentially a part of nature, owing allegiance not to human or divine law but to the law of the natural environment. The purpose of existence becomes a matter of biological survival, and little more. It is this image of the environmentally conditioned creature that has haunted pessimistic social prophets and delighted such behaviorists as B. F. Skinner, whose novel *Walden II* is a description of the environmentalist Utopia.

Only time can tell us who is right. But one development of the last half-century cannot be left out of account, for it may well condition a totally new human self-awareness and a totally new relationship to the environment. That was the advent of individually controlled artificial mobility and speed—specifically, the automobile and the airplane. Their impacts on our culture have in a sense been complementary. Whereas the automobile has dispersed our homes, exploded our cities, and opened the remotest countryside to contact with the outside world, the airplane has altered the landscape hardly at all. But it has enabled us for the first time to see and understand the earth and what we have done to it—both for good and for evil.

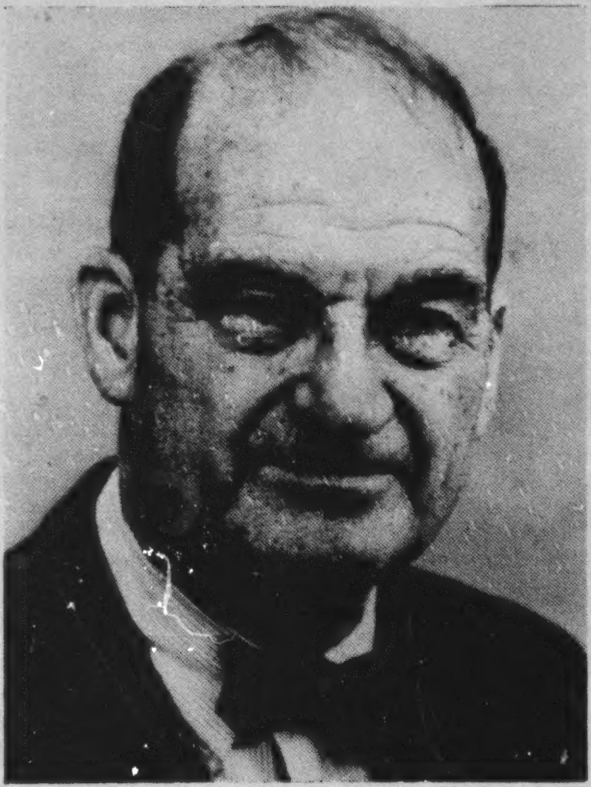
From that new perspective we discern the earth both as our home and as a distant object: an environment which we can now operate on with scientific precision, and whose unique beauty we must love more strongly than ever before. And no less significantly, the automobile and the airplane have revealed the manner in which sustained speed and mobility change our relationship to a familiar environment and by so doing transform us and the world.

The powerful spell cast by this new mobility promises in time to reduce to myth all notions of our rootedness in the landscape, our supposed identification with the earthly environment. At last we have the technical means to play a new and unaccustomed role as custodian and guardian of the earth.

Unit III

CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS

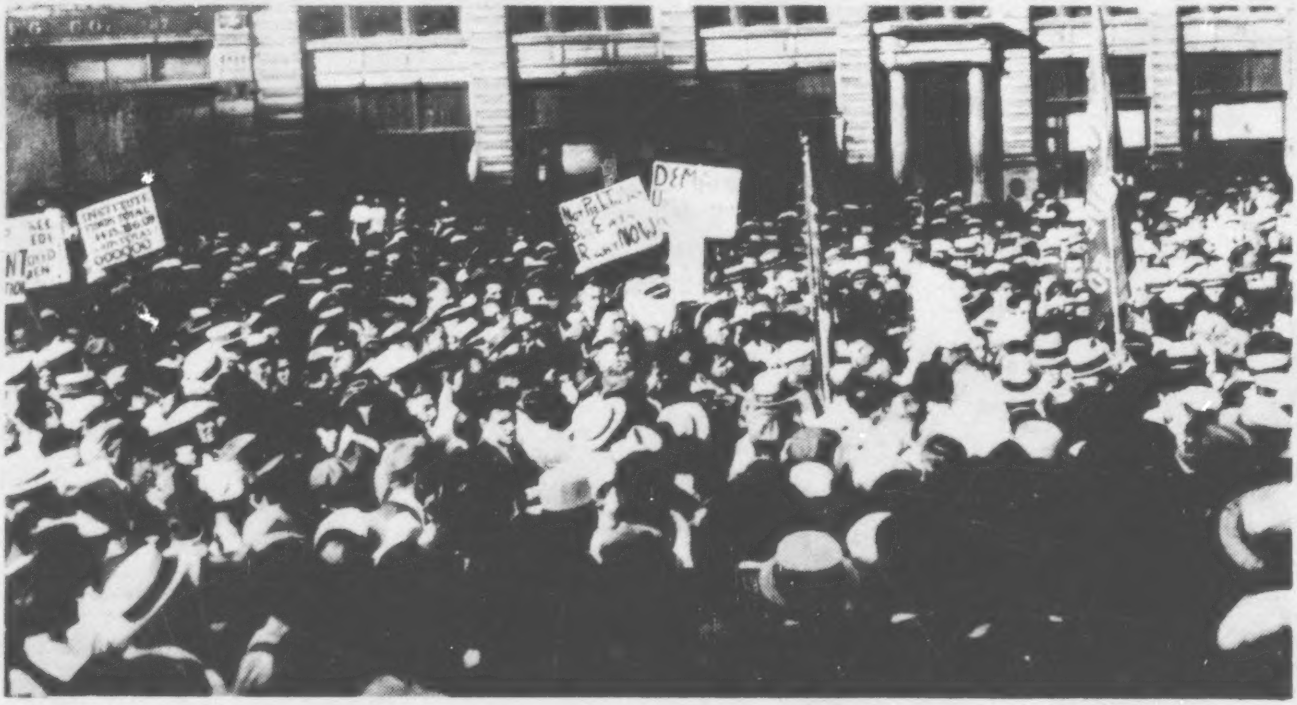
Alan Barth



ALAN BARTH was editorial writer for the Washington *Post* for 30 years. In addition, he has authored several books on civil liberties, including *The Loyalty of Free Men*, *The Price of Liberty*, *Heritage of Liberty* and *Prophets with Honor*. His work has brought recognition both in the field of journalism and in civil liberties, and he has received the Sigma Delta Chi award, the Newspaper Guild Award, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Bill of Rights award, and the Lasker Civil Liberties award.

10. ADVOCACY: FREE SPEECH, FREE ASSEMBLY

Alan Barth



UPI-COMPIX

Communist demonstration in Union Square, New York City, 1932.

Freedom of speech and assembly, guaranteed by the First Amendment, have not always been observed by those in authority.

On a summer day in 1963, thousands of Americans from every part of the nation gathered on the long Mall leading up to the Lincoln Memorial. They sang "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah" and demanded fulfillment of the promise for which Lincoln lived and died. In unison they chanted, "We shall overcome . . ."

But it was to the Congress of the United States at the other end of the Mall, not to the symbol of Lincoln, that this living petition was addressed. The demonstrators were exercising two of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution—the right to speak freely and the right to assemble peaceably and petition for a redress of grievances. Their object was the passage of a comprehensive civil rights bill designed to assure first-class citizenship to black men and women. Early in the following year, Congress transformed the bill into the law of the land.

The rights of free speech and assembly are not always exercised so decorously, nor are they always recognized as rights by the police and others in authority. On May Day of 1971 another great throng of Americans—most of them students and other young persons—assembled in the Capital to protest against continuance of the war in Vietnam. Thirteen thousand of them were arrested and imprisoned—indiscriminately, illegally, and often brutally—in the largest mass arrest in American history. On September 4, 1974, however, a United States District Court declared all of the arrests unconstitutional and ordered that all arrest records stemming from this May-day demonstration should be destroyed.

The freedoms of speech and assembly assured by the First Amendment (together with freedom of the press, to be discussed in the next article) are the considerations essential to the theory of self-government embodied in the United States Constitution. As James Madison put it, "the people, not the government, possess the absolute sovereignty."

THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE

The First Amendment, according to Madison, who is generally credited with having drafted it, constituted the "essential difference between the British Government and the American Constitution." In England, after the civil wars of the 1640s, absolute sovereignty was transferred from the monarch to Parliament, not to the people. And, in theory at least, the will of Parliament was supreme. No fundamental written charter enumerated and limited the powers of Parliament as the American Bill of Rights limited the powers of the United States Congress.

In authoritarian countries where ultimate power resides in a party, an oligarchy or a dictator, freedom of expression hardly exists at all. Rulers are rarely hospitable to criticism or challenge. Lacking these correctives, they may, through error of judgment, plunge a nation into catastrophe—as Adolf Hitler, in hardly more than a decade, plunged his thousand-year Reich. In a democracy, however, where popular sovereignty prevails, freedom of expression is the dynamo of the political process. The men who wrote the First Amendment believed that it was less risky to permit the expression of ideas—even of ideas considered dangerous and disloyal—than to enforce silence. They believed that national unity grew out of resolved conflict, not conformity. In the long run, they believed, the most efficient government was the one constantly obliged to justify its actions and to meet the challenge of competing proposals.

Freedom of assembly or association—freedom to join hands with like-minded fellow-citizens for the advancement of common purposes—is an inseparable consort of free expression. Men are best able to make themselves heard in a large community if they speak in unison.

Alexis de Tocqueville, that astute French critic of the American system in its early years, remarked: "The most natural privilege of man, next to the right of acting for himself, is that of combining his exertions with those of his fellow-creatures, of acting in common with them." And he offered another canny observation about the usefulness of this freedom: "In countries where associations are free, secret societies are unknown. In America, there are numerous factions, but no conspiracies."

The eminent jurist, Judge Learned Hand, summed up the idea very simply: "The First Amendment presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all."

The wisdom of the choice may be measured by the frequency with which we have seen dissenting opinions eventually prevail and minority views become the opinion of the majority. American intervention in Vietnam, for example, opposed in its early stages by no more than a vociferous minor fraction of the country, is now overwhelmingly looked upon as a monumental national blunder. Time and advancing knowledge and changes in the conditions of life produce unforeseeable alterations in fashion, in morals, in social values, even in political convictions; yesterday's heresy may well become tomorrow's orthodoxy.

LIMITS OF FREE SPEECH

The theory of free speech and assembly has not always been honored in practice in the United States. It is sobering to recall that the First Amendment had hardly been ratified before the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 were adopted by a Congress fearful that the radical ideas of the French Revolution would subvert a young Republic conceived and brought to birth in revolution.

The prevailing test for the limits of free speech is what has come to be known as "the clear and present danger" standard formulated by Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., in 1919 (*Schenck v. United States*). "The question in every case," he wrote, "is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree."

Justice Holmes argued eloquently in subsequent dissenting opinions for a liberal and tolerant application of this standard to protect "the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and the pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country." And his great associate, Justice Louis D. Brandeis, reminded Americans in memorable words that the authors of the Constitution regarded free speech not as a mere luxury to be enjoyed only in untroubled times but as a source of strength urgently needed in times of great national strain.

But in the years following the second world war these pleas were powerless against a widespread fear that subversive ideas from overseas—this time from the Russian Revolution—would sap the loyalty of Americans to their own institutions and their own country. So, again, Congress adopted measures seriously restricting free speech and assembly. Congressional investigating committees staged what amounted to virtual trials of persons for expressing "subversive" opinions or associating with those suspected of harboring them. They punished people by publicity for offenses not punishable by law.

The most blatant, if not the worst, of these inquisitorial bodies was the Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Joseph McCarthy, who conducted it as a kind of private, roving kangaroo court. He brought a new word, "McCarthyism," into the language, making it a synonym for overbearing political persecution, until, at last, he was censured by the Senate in 1954 for affronting its dignity. And in more recent days, as we have lately learned, the government carried on a pervasive and intimidating surveillance of anyone suspected of political non-conformity.

Freedom of speech and assembly have been buffeted from the left as well as from the right. University students, who might be presumed to know better, have undermined civil liberty by shouting down the expression of any ideas with which they disagree. The real boundaries of free speech have been left, therefore, in limbo; and no one can define them today with any certainty.

Does America truly want free trade in ideas? Do Americans possess sufficient tolerance to grant a hearing to ideas "they loathe and believe to be fraught with death"? Do the most unpopular ideas deserve a hearing? Upon the answer to these questions depends the shape of future freedom in America.

11. SCRUTINY: FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Alan Barth

Wide World Photos

Los Angeles Times *reporter Bill Farr is taken to jail.*

Farr was jailed for refusing to tell a judge his source for a news story. Can the press fulfill its role if it cannot keep sources of information confidential?

There is no better way to distinguish a free from an authoritarian society than to mark the role each assigns to the press in relation to the government. To authoritarians, the press, like every other institution, is a tool of the state; its function is to promote the purposes and policies of the rulers. In self-governing societies, the function of the press is to furnish the people with information necessary for them to rule themselves—and to keep official authority within its prescribed limits.

That extraordinary analyst of the American psyche, Alexis de Tocqueville, observed in the 1830s that an independent press constituted the chief "element of freedom in the modern world. A nation which is determined to remain free is therefore right in demanding the unrestrained exercise of this independence."

PRESS AS CENSOR

Independence is the key word here. Independence from governmental control is the linch-pin of freedom of the press. Far from wanting governmental censorship, Madison and Jefferson conceived of the press as a censor of government. Thus Thomas Jefferson wrote to President Washington in 1792, "No government ought to be without censors, and where the press is free, no one will." And although he had been mercilessly abused by the Federalist journals, as late as 1823 Jefferson continued to regard the press as "a tribunal of public opinion" that assured peaceful reform instead of revolution.

Two hundred years before our Bicentennial, the English press had achieved a considerable measure of freedom. Licensing by that time was a matter of the past; no longer was there any prior restraint in the form of direct censorship. But newspapers were still liable to punishment for publishing matter offensive to the authorities.

Plainly, as James Madison believed, English standards of press freedom did not harmonize with American opinion. Madison and other framers of the Constitution knew that a press released from responsibility might behave at times irresponsibly. They also knew that this possibility was the inescapable price of independence. Without unhindered freedom to print, the press could not perform its function in a democracy.

So the First Amendment, with its flat declaration —"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press"—set a new standard for the new world. It made the press, in a significant sense, the most privileged of American institutions.

Today newspapers are big business enterprises operated for private profit, yet the First Amendment shields them almost absolutely from official interference or regulation. The same is true of those more modern electronic modes of journalism, radio and television. Although necessarily subject to a selective official allocation of limited broadcasting channels, both to a large degree are protected against any official control over content.

This privilege, we need to remind ourselves, can never be taken for granted. Newspaper editors were fined and jailed for publishing material said to violate the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798; their cases never came before the Supreme Court because the act was repealed in 1800. And through most of the 19th century, despite numerous controversies on the limits of press freedom, the Court had no occasion to consider them. The First Amendment, it held, protected the press only from federal authority—not from action by the states.

MORE SAFEGUARDS

Then in 1931, in a case called *Near v. Minnesota*, the Court decided that the due process clause of the 14th Amendment safeguarded the liberty of press and speech from state action. "Miscreant purveyors of scandal," the Court conceded, might abuse the liberty, but the press of necessity had to retain its immunity "in dealing with official misconduct."

During the next three decades, the Court clarified its position in a series of important decisions. In the 1940s, it ruled that the press could not be summarily disciplined by judges for alleged contempts of court by publication (that is to say, by comments on current cases or on the judges conducting them) unless these comments could be shown to constitute a clear and present danger to the administration of justice.

And in the 1960s, it held in another series of cases that—regardless of a state's common or statutory libel laws—a public figure cannot collect damages for libel unless it can be shown that the report was not only false and damaging but also published maliciously or with the limited negligence.

All these cases vindicated press freedom as essential to a political system designed to limit governmental power. In the 1970s, however, this succession of free press victories was slowed down if not halted. For the first time in American history a prior restraint on publication was countenanced, although not actually approved, by the Supreme Court. The event initiating the case was the publication of the so-called "Pentagon papers" by the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post*.

THE PENTAGON PAPERS

The Pentagon papers comprised a classified official account of the events leading up to American participation in the Vietnam war. Copies of this account, removed from the files of the Defense Department, were passed to the two newspapers which individually published parts of it. Claiming that this publication did serious injury to national security, the government sought to enjoin further publication of the material in the possession of the newspapers. While the Courts deliberated the government's plea, publication was, in fact, delayed: and prior restraint on publication was imposed.

As it turned out, the Court refused to sustain the government's position. Justice Hugo L. Black, in his concurring opinion, even commended the papers which had printed the Pentagon papers. By exposing deception in government, he said, they were serving the purpose "the Founding Fathers saw so clearly." Justice Potter Stewart made the same point to a law student audience: "The established American press in the past 10 years, and particularly in the past 2 years, has performed precisely the function it was intended to perform by those who wrote the First Amendment to the Constitution."

It should not be overlooked, however, that the words of the Court denying the government's claim were not without ambiguity. It simply concluded that the government had not met the "heavy burden of showing justification for the enforcement of such a restraint." The wording suggests quite obviously that such a restraint might be enforceable if that heavy burden could be met. The peril of prior restraint still apparently hangs over the press in America.

Other incursions on the independence of the press have occurred in recent years, most notably in connection with criminal trials. Judges zealous to protect the rights of defendants have sometimes issued "gag" orders, forbidding publication of certain kinds of evidence or testimony. Grand juries have occasionally summoned reporters as witnesses, even ordering them to disclose their confidential sources of information.

Probably the gravest peril to press freedom in America stems not so much from governmental attempts to curb the press as from complacency and timorousness on the part of publishers and broadcasters. Enjoying monopoly positions, they are increasingly reluctant to risk profits and security by getting embroiled in controversy. But can a free press be deemed free if it does not exercise its freedom?

12. PRIVACY: FREEDOM FROM SEARCH AND SEIZURE

Alan Barth

Arthur Schatz/TIME-LIFE Picture Agency

Bugged dart, fired from rifle, will transmit private conversations.

Sophisticated eavesdropping devices pose a new threat to the right to privacy.

Procedure sometimes seems dull; and one often hears procedural rules dismissed carelessly as "mere legal technicalities." Yet Justice Frankfurter did not exaggerate in saying that "the history of liberty has largely been the history of observance of procedural safeguards." Thus far we have looked at the development of three great *substantive* guarantees of the First Amendment— freedom to speak, to publish, to join hands for the advancement of common interests. The balance of the Bill of Rights, especially Amendments IV, V, and VI, is concerned largely with *procedural* rights of Americans, that is, with the ways in which government must behave in relation to its citizens.

This article will deal with one of the most complex of these limitations on governmental power, the Fourth Amendment. It guarantees "the right of people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures." It promises that no search warrants can be issued except "upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." Nothing is more important to freedom or to the exercise of other rights assured by the Constitution than to be secure against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment and against random invasion of one's privacy by nosy, power-hungry agents of government.

"REASONABLE" SEARCH AND SEIZURE

The Fourth Amendment, we should remember, forbids only "unreasonable" searches and seizures. Reasonableness is a disputed term but over the years the courts have defined its main characteristics.

First, a search, to be "reasonable," must have "probable cause"—something more than the searcher's mere guesswork or suspicion—to justify it. In short, there must be information, sworn to by some responsible person, sufficient to justify a reasonable man in believing that stolen property or the instruments of a crime or certain kinds of evidence may be found by an authorized search.

Second, to be reasonable, a search must be approved *in advance* (with rare exceptions) by a neutral judge.

And, third, to be reasonable, a search must be *specific* in regard to the place to be searched and the object to be sought. Rummaging and ransacking premises on "fishing expeditions" are not "reasonable."

The rules regarding arrest are a little looser. Arrests may be made without getting an arrest warrant in advance but only when the police have "probable cause" to charge someone with a particular crime. Then they must take the arrested person without unnecessary delay before a magistrate to determine the validity of the arrest. The Constitution, in brief, allows policemen to *arrest* but delegates to judicial authorities the decision to *detain*.

The development of the law governing search and seizure has been erratic. Long-standing common law tradition held that courts should ignore police practices in obtaining evidence so long as the police did not resort to physical coercion and so long as the evidence presented was competent and relevant.

In a landmark case decided in 1914, however, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that in federal trials it would no longer accept evidence obtained through violation of the Constitution. The case (*Weeks v. United States*) involved the seizure of some papers in plain violation of the Fourth Amendment. "If letters and private documents can thus be seized and held and used in evidence against a citizen accused of an offense," the Court declared, then the citizen's "right to be secure against such searches and seizures is of no value, and, so far as those thus placed are concerned, might as well be stricken from the Constitution."

Note that was in a federal trial. As late as 1949 (in *Wolf v. Colorado*), the Court ruled that the admission in state trials of evidence obtained by an unreasonable search and seizure was not in violation of the federal Constitution. Not until 1961 did the Court change its mind, as it does from time to time, and decide (in *Mapp v. Ohio*) that "all evidence obtained by searches and seizures in violation of the Constitution is, by that same authority, inadmissible in a state court."

A CHIEF GRIEVANCE

The men who wrote the Fourth Amendment—the gist of which had already been embodied in a number of state constitutions—preceding the ratification of the federal

Constitution, were no mere theorists. They were all too familiar with random searches and arbitrary arrests conducted under the authority of writs of assistance and general warrants by King George III's redcoats.

Indeed, these were among the chief grievances that led to the American rebellion. The idea that a man's home was his castle—that, however humble it might be, the king's men could not enter it without a proper warrant—was already firmly established in England. The colonists felt that they were entitled to the same right of privacy.

Privacy is nowhere mentioned in the Constitution under that term. At best it is an elusive and elastic concept, and just what degree of it the authors of the Constitution meant to assure has sparked much argument.

A great debate on the subject grew out of a landmark case (*Olmstead v. United States*) that came before the Supreme Court in 1928—the first case testing whether the tapping of a telephone constituted an "unreasonable search" in the sense forbidden by the Fourth Amendment. A gang of bootleggers had been selling liquor smuggled into the State of Washington in clear violation of the Volstead Act. Over a period of many months, federal prohibition agents tapped telephones in the homes and offices of the bootleggers and listened to them take orders for liquor and direct their far-flung enterprises. Stenographic notes of these conversations were used to convict the bootleggers. Did this constitute an unreasonable search?

The Court, dividing five to four, said No. "The [Fourth] Amendment," Chief Justice Taft wrote for the majority, "does not forbid what was done here. There was no searching. There was no seizure. The evidence was secured by the sense of hearing and that only. There was no entry of the houses or offices of the defendants." In short, since there was no trespass on the defendants' premises, there was no Fourth Amendment violation.

UNWARRANTED INTRUSION

In an impassioned dissent, however, Justice Louis D. Brandeis pleaded for a broader, more imaginative interpretation of the Fourth Amendment. It was designed, he argued, not merely to protect private premises against unwarranted intrusion but also to safeguard a right of privacy essential to the ideas of human dignity and political liberty.

"The makers of our Constitution," he put it, "undertook to secure conditions favorable to the pursuit of happiness. . . . They conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men. To protect that right, every unjustifiable *intrusion by the* Government upon the privacy of the individual, whatever the means employed, must be deemed a violation of the Fourth Amendment."

It took almost 40 years for the court to come round to endorsing Brandeis' dissenting view. In the course of those years, electronic eavesdropping devices had become far more sophisticated and pervasive. Complicated surveillance systems were being used indiscriminately by the government to detect political dissension as well as criminal conduct. The assumptions lying behind the 1928 decision had been outflanked by technological developments. Intrusions upon privacy had become a menace to liberty—a menace to the exercise of the very rights of free speech and free association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

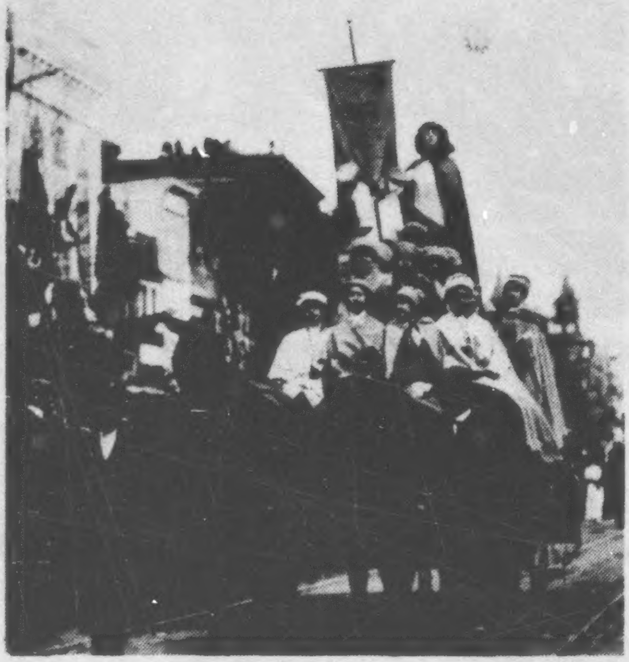
Freedom of communication between free citizens is the very essence of the democratic process. In 1967, therefore, the Court abandoned the "trespass" doctrine enunciated by Chief Justice Taft and declared instead that the Fourth Amendment protects people and not simply "areas" against unreasonable searches and seizures. Today wiretapping or bugging of private conversations is unconstitutional unless authorized and its limits defined *in advance* by a competent judicial authority. In 1968, Congress adopted legislation authorizing such electronic searches.

Law enforcement, of course, would be easier, and perhaps more efficient, if the police could arrest and interrogate suspects at will or if police could eavesdrop or conduct surprise searches wherever they supposed a crime was being plotted or contraband concealed. But these are the identifying characteristics of a police state. Where governments have such unregulated power, citizens are powerless.

In handcuffing the police to safeguard popular liberty, the authors of the Fourth Amendment realized that they were to some extent sacrificing efficiency for the sake of privacy. The price seemed to them well worth paying. It is, in fact, the inescapable price of liberty.

13. EQUALITY: EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW

Alan Barth



Library of Congress.

Suffragette Parade, Washington, D.C., 1913.

Various groups in our society have not always enjoyed equality under the law.

Although the Declaration of Independence states as one of its "self-evident" truths that "all men are created equal," equality has been much more an ideal than a fact of American life. Obvious advantages to individuals arise from the accident of birth. Beyond these, there have been conspicuous class, ethnic and other distinctions sustaining inequality, sanctioned by law through most of American history. The most blatant of these have related to women and to blacks.

Not until 1920 was the Constitution to provide that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." As this is written, many women are still pressing for ratification of an Equal Rights Amendment that would relieve them of other serious kinds of discrimination and disability.

They have made significant advances through recent Supreme Court decisions. Since December 1974, the Court has ruled that women cannot be excluded from juries, cannot be ignored as income producers when the government computes survivor benefits under Social Security, and cannot be denied child support based on the presumption that they reach adulthood earlier than men. The Court declared recently: "No longer is the female destined solely for the home and the rearing of the family, and only the male for the marketplace and the world of ideas."

"EQUAL PROTECTION"

As for black Americans, in the infamous Dred Scott decision of 1857, Chief Justice Roger Taney wrote for the Supreme Court that Negroes were not "citizens" and "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The institution of human slavery was finally abolished by the 13th Amendment in 1865. The 14th and 15th Amendments were designed to give citizenship to the freedmen and to eradicate from American life forever any discrimination by race under the law.

The 14th Amendment provides, among other things, that "No State shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." To implement this amendment, Congress, in 1875, enacted far-reaching civil rights legislation, asserting "the equality of all men before the law," and declaring that all persons "shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land and water, theaters, and other places of public amusement."

The mood of the country changed soon after passage of the 1875 Civil Rights Act, however, and the North abandoned its efforts at "Reconstruction of the South." It left the liberated black men to the scant mercies of embittered, defeated white Southerners. The result was development of a caste system in which blacks became the American untouchables, subjected to rigid segregation and to the most crippling, humiliating forms of discrimination. "Jim Crow" ruled throughout the old Confederacy and was brutally enforced by the mob violence and lynchings of the Ku Klux Klan and other night riders.

The postwar amendments, the civil rights enactments, fell into virtual oblivion as far as black men were concerned. And step by step in this tragic retreat from their promises, the Supreme Court ratified the country's indifference to the fate of the freedmen. The crucial judicial ratification of Jim Crow came in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, decided in 1896. It dealt with a Louisiana statute requiring all railway companies in the state to provide "equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races." The statute, the Court ruled, did not deny equal protection. If anyone supposed that the enforced separation of the two races stamped the colored race with a badge of inferiority, "it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it."

AN IMMORTAL DISSENT

This decision produced a lone immortal dissenting opinion by the first Justice John M. Harlan. Warning that it would inevitably create bitterness between the races, he declared: "In view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

But more than half a century was to pass before the wisdom and truth of Harlan's views were recognized by the Court. A variety of factors effected the change. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal brought the beginning of what historian C. Vann Woodward has called "the new Reconstruction," a revival of concern for the condition of black Americans. Two world wars with their manpower shortages gave blacks a chance at jobs in factories—and gave whites a chance at the experience of working alongside them.

Industrialization and a changing economy in the South made the continuing maintenance of an illiterate and submerged colored peasantry an economic liability rather than an asset. The end of the Second World War brought with it a collapse of colonial empires and a new sense of independence among submerged peoples everywhere—especially among those of African descent. American leadership in world affairs brought unwelcome attention to the disparity between our principles and our practices respecting human equality.

Perhaps the most important single influence in effecting the new Reconstruction was a mass migration that took place in the middle years of the 20th century from rural areas to urban centers. Blacks, a major element in this migration, swarmed to the big cities. For the first time they began, under increasingly resourceful and sophisticated leadership, to form a politically effective voting bloc. With growing white support, blacks staged effective demonstrations in the Capital and elsewhere against the injustices of racial discrimination, and brought effective court challenges against them.

END OF "JIM CROW"

At last, on May 17, 1954, a unanimous Supreme Court put an end to the "separate but equal" fiction—at least so far as segregated public schools were concerned. It acknowledged, in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, what Justice Harlan had asserted more than half a century earlier, that racial segregation is, of itself, by its nature and by its intent, a debasing denial of human equality. "We conclude," Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote, "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs . . . are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment."

Although this decision dealt only with public schools, the reasoning behind it applied with almost equal force to all forms of publicly supported and publicly managed facilities. It meant Jim Crow could no longer govern parks and playgrounds, swimming pools and beaches or any other recreational opportunities operated under government auspices.

The decision was followed by years of "freedom rides" and "sit-ins" and "marches" and "prayer demonstrations"—many of them encountering violent and brutal resistance by local authorities and demanding heroic courage by their organizers and participants. At the same time there were persistent efforts to organize blacks for political action and to register them in the South so that they could make themselves felt at the polls.

In 1964, goaded first by President Kennedy and later by President Johnson, Congress enacted a comprehensive civil rights law; and a year later it adopted a voting rights act designed to assure blacks full participation at the polls. Such legislation could not of itself, to be sure, bring about harmony and fairness in race relations. Great social changes are rarely accomplished speedily or comfortably. At last, however, the moral influence of the Constitution was placed in support of full equality for black Americans.

The 14th Amendment's clause assuring "equal protection of the laws" has been applied in another significant context to erase inequality. The great migration of people from rural to urban residence produced in many states gross discrepancies in the numerical size of legislative districts. A legislator elected by a rural district often had only a tiny fraction of the constituents represented by a legislator elected from an urban district; he had an equal vote in the legislature, however, and thus the political power of city-dwellers was diluted and unequal. It was an advantage which rural representatives in control of most legislatures were commonly unwilling to relinquish by any equitable reapportionment.

In dealing with this problem in a complex of cases that came before it in 1962 and 1963, the Supreme Court said that the arbitrary reduction in the effectiveness of ballots cast by city-dwellers amounted to a denial of the equal protection of the laws. "The Equal Protection Clause," Chief Justice Warren asserted (in *Reynolds v. Sims*), "requires that a State make an honest and good faith effort to construct districts, in both houses of its legislature, as nearly of equal population as is practicable." Thus the basic democratic principle of one-man, one-vote was revitalized.

If equality of opportunity and of participation in the life of the community is still an ideal and not yet altogether a reality in America, it remains an ideal toward which men and women must strive unceasingly if they are to maintain in any true sense a democracy where justice prevails through the rule of law.

Unit IV

A MORE PERFECT UNION: THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Doris Kearns

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14. "IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED . . .": CONGRESS AND THE POPULAR WILL

Doris H. Kearns

Wide World Photos

Members of House Judiciary Committee during hearing on Articles of Impeachment, July 29, 1974.

The changing role of Congress reflects changes in the social and economic organization of our nation.

Early this year, I asked a class of Boston school children to describe the images that came into their heads when they thought about America's political institutions. "The White House," ventured a boy in the front row. "The President," suggested the girl behind him. And then the class opened up. The Capitol, the Congress, the Lincoln Memorial, the Democrats, the Washington Monument, the Republicans, Washington, D.C. Not one child mentioned the statehouse, the governor, the mayor or the city council.

Their entire focus was on national institutions, equating the whole of American politics and government with a few buildings in Washington, D.C. Their perceptions reflected—however imperfectly—a revolutionary shift of power from the community and the states to the national government.

In the early days of the Republic, as John Higham has observed, power was decentralized. All the activities that engaged the citizens' interest—the administration of justice, the schooling of the young, the maintenance of law and order, the building and upkeep of roads, the care of the sick—were carried out in the various states, not at the federal level. In 1802 the entire population of the national government, including both the civilian and military establishment, numbered fewer persons than the federal employees now engaged in apprehending federal criminals.

A BACKWATER TOWN

And, far from being the center of political imagination, Washington, D.C. was a backwater, southern town where pigs rooted in the unpaved streets. Though the Capital's planners had dreamed of creating a center of national life—a Paris or Rome—their dreams had foundered upon their inability to attract the commerce, wealth and population needed to make the city prosper. Unable to raise the necessary funds from a citizenry too suspicious of centralized power to support the creation of a national capital, the planners designed roads that were never built and constructed buildings that were never finished. As one historian has described it: "Where majestic avenues were to sweep, tree stumps stood, where houses were to be, barren hillocks rose like desert islands. Cows grazed on future plazas, roads meandered into cow trails, bullfrogs chorused on the mall." For thirty years the unfinished capitol dome periodically spilled dirt on the heads of the Senators and Congressmen walking below. Diplomats dressed in their finest stepped from their carriages into six inches of mud. Even the executive mansion was an object of ridicule; of the 30 rooms, only six were plastered and dozens of privies filled the President's lawn.

So uncertain was the future of the national government that most men in public life considered high positions in Washington *less* preferable to positions in their own villages and states. Only four of the six men George Washington chose to sit on the Supreme Court actually showed up for the first meeting; one was involved in more pressing activities at home and the other declined the appointment. And the number of men who voluntarily resigned from the Congress was greater than those who failed the test of reelection.

Yet in a peculiar way, the very difficulties of life in Washington served the cause of democracy—particularly in the Congress. The Congress was originally designed to represent the popular will in the states and localities. Think how useful it was, in fulfilling that function, to have a rotating representation from the population at large, descending on Washington each year, coming fresh from the people, bringing with them new demands, ideas and power. Each new election brought a turnover of 50%, which meant that more than one-half of the representatives to the House every two years were freshmen. In the early 1800s the average length of service in the House was only two terms, in the Senate one. In 1900 only 9 percent had served ten terms or more.

With new men continually filling the chamber, little premium was placed on age or experience. Many of the leaders of the Congress were in their thirties.

CAREER PROFESSIONALISTS

The constantly changing Congress of the 19th century was a far different body from the more insulated institution we know today, where fewer than 10 percent of the members turn over in any one election, where more than one-half the members have served more than five terms, and one in five has served more than ten terms. The average age of the members today—50 for Representatives and 60 for Senators—is ten to twenty years older than the average age of the voting population. And the average age of the leaders is still older.

With the rise of seniority in the 20th century, length of service in the institution has come to determine positions of power. Sam Rayburn was 58 when he became Speaker, John McCormack 77, Carl Albert 62. In 1971 the leaders of the House averaged 63 years, those of the Senate 69 years. In 1972 a computer simulation predicted that a new congressman elected in November would have to wait until the year 2013 before coming into a position of real power. It would be 41 years before he could chair the House Appropriations committee, 39 years before he could lead the Armed Services committee. And he would be 78 when he became chairman of the Rules committee.

Apparently these patterns are changing today—the 1974 elections have produced a shake-up in the leadership of the House of Representatives—but the dominant trend in the 20th century remains one in which the members of Congress are serving longer and longer. Mobile amateurs—willing to come and go—have become career professionalists anxious to stay in Washington as long as possible. How did this shift come about?

It can be attributed in part to the changes in the nation and the world since the 19th century. In the last 100 years, our nation has undergone an industrial revolution, become a worldwide power, waged six wars and suffered several major economic depressions. The 20th century has seen the nationalization of social and economic problems and the growth of large national organizations to deal with them. These developments have concentrated power in the central government away from the states and localities. In 1801 the entire population of the national government numbered 2,875. One hundred years later, the number had grown to 351,798 employees. In 1971 the national government had 5,637,000 employees, constituting almost 7 percent of the labor force.

THE PULL OF POWER

As the distribution of power has shifted away from the states and localities, the attractiveness of local political careers has declined, and the pull of work in Washington is so strong that voluntary resignation from high national posts now merits front page attention. Part of the modern attraction to Washington may be attributed to the physical changes in the city since 1800; the sidewalks are now completed, the capitol dome is finished and all the rooms in the White House are plastered! But the real attraction for the person with politics in his or her blood is power, not physical beauty. Though Washington has never become a cultural or industrial center, it has become the center of political life, the end of the rainbow for the politically ambitious. Hence once professional politicians reach Washington, they want to stay for the rest of their lives. To leave the city is tantamount to leaving politics; to go home is to be exiled to Siberia. Little wonder, then, that the tradition of rotation in office has virtually disappeared.

At the same time that politicians have made Washington their political home, the rules of politics have changed, making it substantially easier now than it was 100 years ago for an incumbent Congressman or Senator to win reelection.

First in importance are the material advantages which accrue to the incumbent: administrative funds and staff, and use of the franking privilege. All but the very wealthy are dependent upon contributions to support their campaign expenses. These contributions come primarily from interest groups—such as labor, business or agriculture—for whom the incumbent is a known quantity. His committee assignments have been made, his voting record is on the books. He is safe—a reliable target for their money. So begins a cycle which redounds to the incumbent's benefit; the longer a person stays in office, the more power he acquires in his committee, the more power he has, the more campaign funds he receives. And the more funds, the more likely his chances of reelection. The cycle goes on.

THE ROLE OF CONGRESS

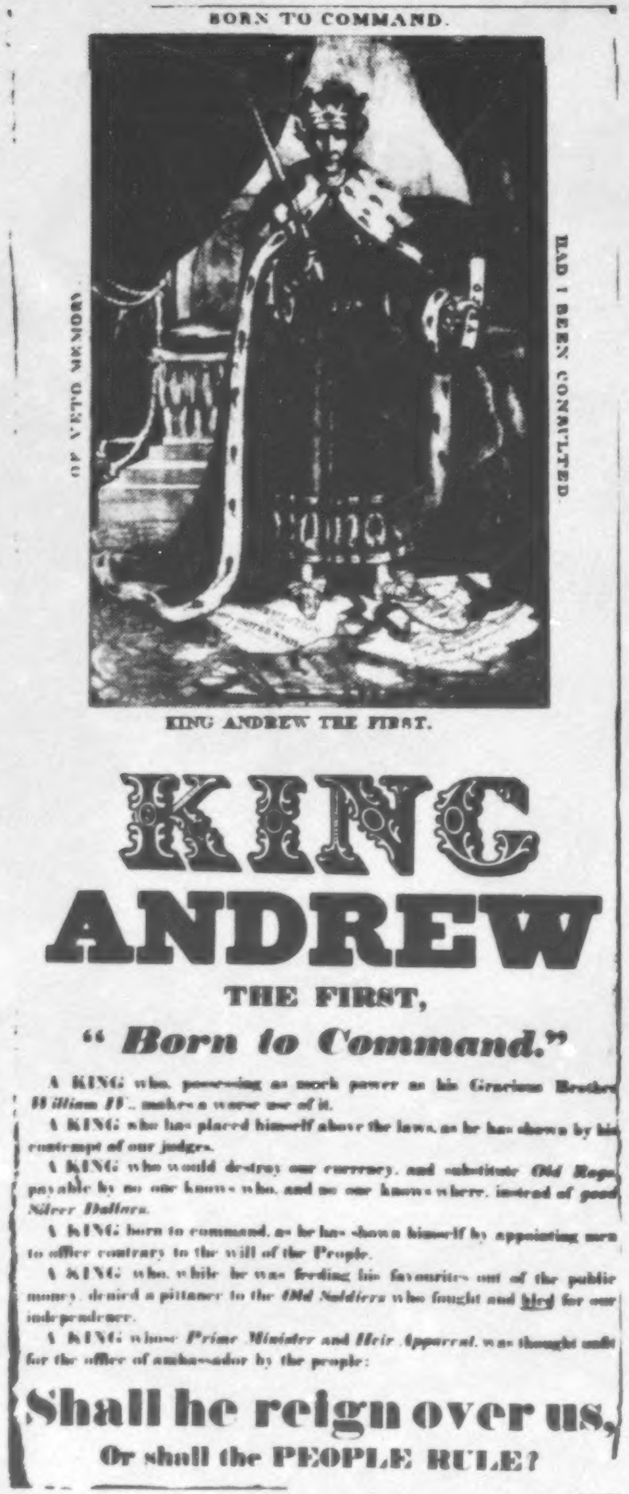
This trend toward ever longer service is only one of several that could be evaluated in discussing the Congress. The more usual focus is the decline of the Congressional role in the initiation of legislation, and in the making of war and peace. But any analysis of the present and future role of the Congress must take into consideration its composition: the men and women who make it up, their habits of mind, their financial dependencies, their attitudes toward their jobs, their choices as to how to spend their time.

So long as representatives see reelection and a permanent base in Washington as their main goal, there is little hope for basic change. The system protects itself by rewarding fidelity to the status quo at every turn. Many representatives continue to preoccupy themselves with constituent service narrowly defined—with baby books, birthday greetings, appointments to West Point, case work and pork barrel projects. (One leading scholar estimates that constituent service occupies more than half of the time of each congressional office.) Neither time nor energy remain for acquiring expertise necessary to make intelligent judgments on a wide range of domestic issues and foreign affairs in today's increasingly complex world. Nor are sufficient staff and funding available to keep the representatives informed.

An overconcern for political survival and a preoccupation with trivial constituent services often lead to the avoidance of controversial stands. The unwillingness of Congress to take the initiative in legislative matters at home and abroad and a tendency to avoid responsibility has contributed to the rise of presidential power in the 20th century—the subject for exploration in the article to follow.

15. THE EVOLUTION OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER

Doris H. Kearns



BORN TO COMMAND.

OF VETO MEMORY

HAD I BEEN CONSULTED.

KING ANDREW THE FIRST.

KING ANDREW THE FIRST,

" *Born to Command.*"

A KING who, possessing as much power as his Gracious Brothe *William IV.*, makes a worse use of it.

A KING who has placed himself above the laws, as he has shown by hi contempt of our judges.

A KING who would destroy our currency, and substitute *Old Rag* payable by no one knows who, and no one knows where, instead of goo *Silver Dollars.*

A KING born to command, as he has shown himself by appointing men to office contrary to the will of the People.

A KING who, while he was feeding his favourites out of the public money, denied a pittance to the *Old Soldiers* who fought and bled for our independence.

A KING whose *Prime Minister and Heir Apparent*, was thought unfi for the office of ambassador by the people:

Shall he reign over us,

Or shall the PEOPLE RULE?

Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City.

Broadside of President Andrew Jackson.

The problem of presidential power is not unique to the 20th century.

George Washington wanted to be called "His Mightiness." John Adams preferred "His Highness." Thomas Jefferson, objecting to the implication of royalty and aristocracy, suggested simply "Mr. President." Public officials in a democratic republic, Jefferson reasoned, were public servants and should be treated as such with a minimum of pomp and ceremony. The Federalists countered with the ideal of a remote regal dignitary shielded by protocol. "What will soldiers and sailors say," John Adams asked, "when they hear George Washington is called President. They will despise him. The President is undignified. Why there are Presidents of fire companies and clubs!"

Jefferson prevailed on the question of titles, but the larger controversy about the hybrid nature of the American President—half democrat, half king—continues to this day. If most Americans do not feel compelled to hang a picture of Gerald Ford in their living rooms (unlike our ancestors who considered it a duty to display a likeness of George Washington in their homes), we still defer to our chief executives if we do not deify them.

The deference takes both symbolic and practical forms. The modern White House has become a colossal warehouse, open twenty-four hours a day to accommodate the President's every need. Every schoolchild is taught the President's name. The President's actions dominate the front pages of the press. His speeches preempt the most popular television programs. His private thoughts as well as his private ailments are public concerns. And there is no question of the power of the Presidency to evoke strong emotional responses in the American people. Studies of popular reaction to the deaths of Warren Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and John F. Kennedy liken the public grief and even physical suffering (insomnia, depression, rashes, high blood pressure) to the emotions and pain experienced after the death of a close friend or relative.

DOUBLE VISION

In keeping with the national habit of ridiculing what they most deeply respect, Americans often simultaneously revere and deride the image of their Presidents. Richard Nixon was openly referred to as Tricky Dick; L.B.J. was satirically cast as MacBird in a scurrilous play; and Gerald Ford's football career has been the subject of rude remarks. Nor is the President's physical presence immune to malicious gossip and the venom of cartoonists: George Washington's false teeth is a bit of familiar historical lore; William Taft's obesity and Lyndon Johnson's hanging ears are immortalized in cartoons.

To understand this duality, we must return to the Founding Fathers, for it was their mingled fear of and desire for centralized power that shaped the institution of the Presidency and insured the persistence of our double vision.

The Revolution had been fought to protect individual liberties from the willful authority of kings and governors. These liberties included protecting religious freedom from royal edicts, defending personal goods and possessions from arbitrary taxes, and maintaining the privilege of not serving in wars fought solely to advance the interests of the Crown. Powerful sentiment against royal authority before the Revolution accounts for the enfeebled executive provided by the Articles of Confederation. Hamstrung at every turn by a series of institutional checks, he was an executive who could execute nothing.

The impotence of the Articles became the theme harped upon in the 1780s by those who sought a stronger national government. They pictured a society in chaos, with debtors in revolt against creditors, squatters illegally occupying land, the state laws a welter of confusion. In place of this hodgepodge, the Framers of the Constitution proposed an energetic government capable of penetrating the remotest parts of the continent. Without this type of central authority, the Framers were convinced, the United States would sacrifice its potential glory as a nation to an excessive and irrational fear of executive power.

In defining the powers of the President, the Framers were responding both to the experience of the colonial Revolution and to its aftermath. His duties were specified, his authority limited. Selected by an electoral college (not the legislature), he was given the power as Commander-in-Chief and Chief of State to make treaties, nominate ambassadors, choose Supreme Court justices, keep Congress informed on the state of the Union, recommend measures he judged necessary and expedient, and assure the faithful execution of the laws. But these powers had to be shared with other branches. He could make treaties and nominate ambassadors, but only if Congress approved. In short, he was to be neither democrat nor king alone but a little of both.

WAR POWERS

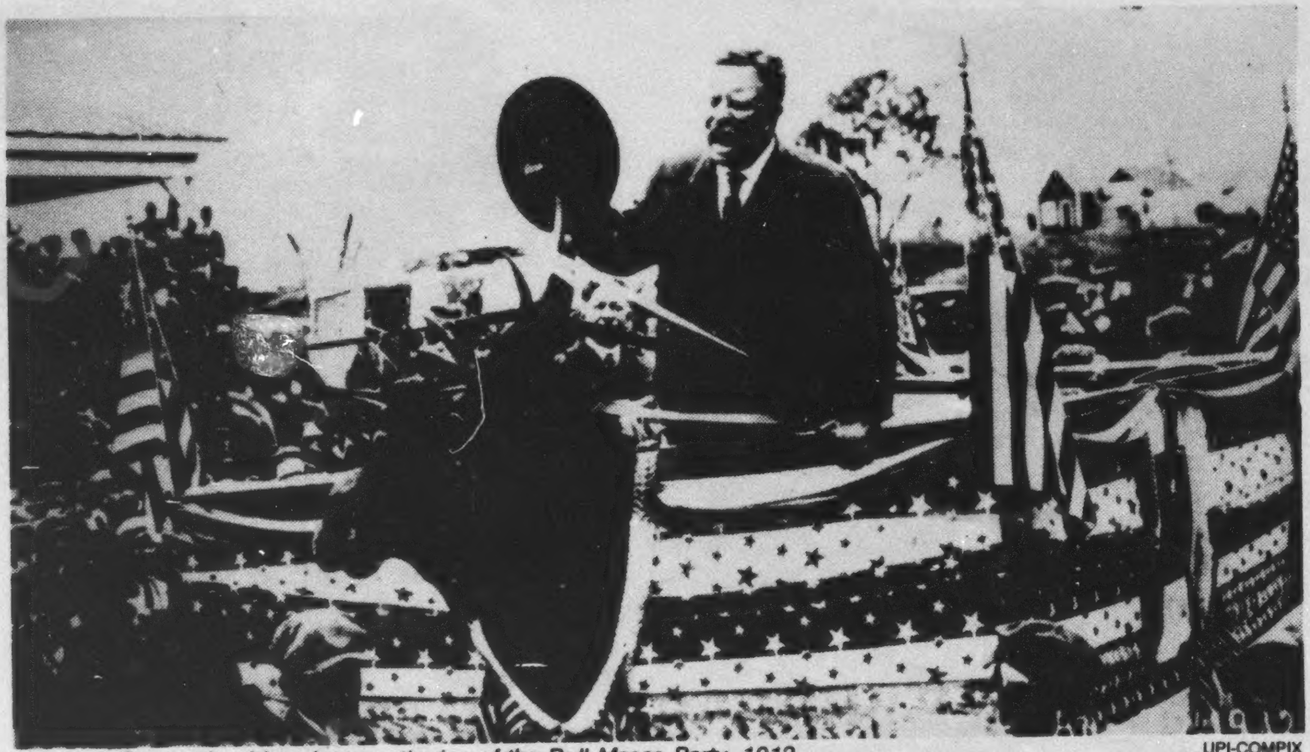
Early drafts of the Constitution granted the legislature sole power to make war. In later drafts, the wording was loosened to allow for the practical necessity of executive action should the nation be attacked while Congress was out of session—as it was expected to be for all but one month a year. In an age when the fastest horse took fifteen days to ride to the capital from the northernmost state of Massachusetts and twelve days from the southernmost state of Georgia, the sitting executive provided the only promise of immediate response.

Theoretically, the executive's power to respond to attacks was not equated with the power to initiate them. But history has a way of fudging distinctions. If, as it often happened, the American government created situations that provoked the hostility to which the President then responded, where was the line between initiation and response?

As the territory of the nation extended, American Presidents stretched the concept of defensive action. "To protect America from attack" required the protection of American citizens abroad. In the early 20th century Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft sent troops into Cuba and the Dominican Republic to protect American residents living there. In 1914 and again in 1916, Wilson sent troops into Mexico to enforce American policy interests in that country. To protect the entire free world against the danger of Communism, Truman dispatched troops into South Korea in 1950 to repulse North Korean aggression. In none of these incidents was Congress asked to approve these actions in advance. It was the President, with his access to special information, who decided. Such unilateral decisions by the President in matters of war and peace have given that office a degree of unrestrained power objectionable to the Founding Fathers—and to many Americans today.

16. AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES: DEAD OR ALIVE?

Doris H. Kearns



Theodore Roosevelt addressing a gathering of the Bull Moose Party, 1912.

UPI-COMPIX

Television has radically altered the nature of political campaigns.

During the fall of 1972, I travelled for ten days on the airplane with the peripatetic Presidential candidate of the Democratic Party while his campaign plane hopped from airport to airport: Wheeling, San Diego, San Francisco, Denver, Philadelphia, Chicago, Dallas and Washington, D.C. It was a strangely surreal experience which had almost nothing to do with the Democratic Party as I thought I understood it at the time. We spent more than three-quarters of our waking hours in transit above the clouds; most of the remaining hours we devoted to the "visuals" that would appear that night on the little square box that stood in every living room in America.

Modern technology has turned the modern political campaign into a contest of televised images. Personal contact with a few hundred voters or a dozen party members and leaders is considered frivolous compared with the task of preparing for television appearances in which millions can be reached at once. Thus the most important contacts in each city were not the local political leaders but the local talk show hosts, the evening newscasters, the television producers.

In San Diego we descended—TV cameras, newspapermen and staff—upon a small hospital where the candidate was programmed to demonstrate his concern for health care. As we walked through the corridors, totally disrupting the routine of the patients, I heard one cameraman say to another: "God, I'm really tired and don't feel like covering this event. I'd love to catch some sleep on the plane." "Well, why don't you?" the other responded. "After all, we're going to a clinic in Denver this afternoon. All you have to do is to film the candidate there and call it San Diego on your tape. What difference does it make?"

CAMPAIGNING BY MEDIA

It is hard to see how the political party—classically designed as a linkage between the candidates and the voters—fits into this style of campaigning. This is the age of the direct primary where party leaders no longer control nominations and where the independent voter is rapidly replacing the party follower in numbers and importance to the candidates.

In ten days the only direct relationship I observed between the people and the candidate that bore out my preconceptions about campaigns was a large rally on the streets of San Francisco. The candidate rode in an open car, the crowd following him up the streets singing and responding to his rhetoric with joyous enthusiasm. But my pleasure was not shared by the staff. Apparently the rally had begun too late in the afternoon to make the 6 p.m. news, and the participants were too passionate and unruly for the image of calm that was being projected that week upon the tube.

How different this Presidential campaign from its counterparts fifty or one hundred years ago! In the heyday of party influence following the Civil War the great majority of citizens identified with one or the other party. Politics then was like religion; it gave people a sense of fraternity and a feeling of belonging which brought them to the polls in very high percentages. (The average turnout in the 19th century was 76% compared to less than 50% in the 20th.) And once they got to the polls, nine out of ten voted a straight party line. In that age of party faithful, the practice of splitting one's ticket (a common practice today) was not taken lightly.

PRECINCT SERVICES

The base of the modern American party system for the past century was the precinct organization. In the past, local party leaders directly controlled a number of tangible resources—the "loaves and fishes"—skillfully distributed as rewards for the party's faithful—jobs, foodbaskets, medical care, legal assistance, scholarships, aid to the elderly. The ties between the citizen and the party were direct and personal. "I think," Lincoln Steffens wrote, "that there's got to be in every ward somebody that any bloke can come to—and get help—no matter what he's done. Help, you understand, none of your big law and justice, but help."

Today most party leaders no longer bring baskets of food to hungry families. Nor do they deliver many jobs to the unemployed. All these services and more have been assumed by the bureaucracy of the welfare state—the Social Security Administration, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Labor. The American bureaucracy is a relatively new phenomenon. Even in 1933 the total employment in the executive branch was less than 600,000, half of whom were in the post office. Today there were approximately 2½ million civilian employees in the executive branch.

Before the turn of the century, the members of the federal bureaucracy were recruited by the spoils system; with every change in the Presidency, thousands of civil servants were displaced by the supporters of the new Chief Executive. This system was modified in 1883 with the passage of the Pendleton Act, which created the Civil Service Commission and provided for the recruitment of 10% of the employees by open competitive examination. Since then, as the expansion of governmental activities increasingly revealed the inefficiencies of the patronage system, that percentage has grown. Today more than 90% of the federal employees are chosen by the merit system.

CHANGING PARTY STRUCTURE

Replaced by the welfare state, deprived of patronage, stripped of their nominating function, the modern political parties have changed almost beyond recognition. Today as many people classify themselves as independents as Republicans or Democrats. Only 28% consider themselves strong party identifiers. And as party loyalty declines, ticket splitting goes up. In 1900 only three of every 100 voters split their tickets; today nearly one-third of the voters regularly cross party lines.

But the decline of the party can only be understood in the larger context of the loss of community life in modern American society. The older political party drew its lifeblood from the ethnic alliances among a congeries of local communities, from the social fact that the same families lived and worked in the same neighborhoods for generations. Today many of those ethnic communities have been shattered by a confluence of social, political and economic forces; by the concentration of industrial power and work in the city, by highways, urban renewal, and high rise dwellings. We are becoming, in the words of the popular sociologist Vance Packard, "a nation of strangers." About 40 million Americans change their home address at least once each year; the average American moves about 14 times in his lifetime. Today two out of three families are torn apart by divorce and more than two million sons and daughters voluntarily leave their homes and cross state lines to go to college.

In the midst of this larger social upheaval, it is not surprising that the bonds of party have also been sundered. The American parties originally developed in response to the social structure and to the needs of the people for a peaceful process to fill the political positions established in the Constitution. As the social structure changed over time, so did the party structure—in response to the western movement of the population and the dispersal of economic resources during Jackson's time, the parties broadened their base; in response to the concentration of economic and industrial power in the late 19th century the parties narrowed their base.

Thus to talk about changing the parties—revitalizing the local precincts or restructuring the system of financing or rebuilding the lines of communication—is, as we shall see in the next article, to talk about changing the social and economic structure as well.

17. REFORMING THE GOVERNMENT: NOW AND THE FUTURE

Doris H. Kearns

UPI-COMPIX

President Nixon's top economic advisers review Congressional legislation. Left to right: Casper Weinberger, Herbert Stein (hidden), George Schultz, John Ehrlichman, Kennetn Cole. The past few decades have seen an increasing concentration of power in the national executive.

The twin traumas of Vietnam and Watergate dramatized for millions of Americans the increasing centralization of governmental power in the national executive that had been in process for decades. The dangers of arbitrary, centralized power had been a cause of concern since the earliest days of the Republic. The Founding Fathers had considered competition between institutions and groups, widely dispersed at the national, state and local levels, to be the best safeguard to liberty in a world of imperfect men. Initially, therefore, they tried to insure that each institution had no greater access to the resources of power than any of its competitors.

Over time, however, as the preceding articles have illustrated, a fundamental shift of power has led to the concentration of such resources—information, money, status, access to media and technology—at the national level, particularly in the executive branch. In the past year, as the events of Watergate and Vietnam made the public increasingly aware of this centralization of power, a new critical spirit has emerged. "Reforming the government" has rapidly become—once again—an issue of widespread public concern.

REVITALIZING CONGRESS

For many of today's reformers, the behavior of Congress has provoked anguish but also hope. A revitalized Congress is frequently described as the best way both to check the imperial Presidency and to reassert a more genuine popular voice in the making of governmental policy. Dozens of panels, commissions and confernces are currently focused on Congress' problems and potentialities. Prompted in part by this external pressure, Congress has begun a serious self-analysis with an eye toward improving its manner of operating. Its budgetary planning, its committee system and campaign financing have all recently undergone scrutiny and change.

Historically, the national legislature's lack of a unified approach to the budgetary process, provoked partly by its fragmented committee system, has contributed to weakening congressional influence on budget planning. But so deeply imbedded was the prevailing committee structure, which allowed dozens of individual congressional committees to set their own spending figures without regard to one another, that any real change was considered almost impossible.

Then in 1974, partly in response to the Constitutional crisis caused by the President's impoundment of funds appropriated by Congress, the House and the Senate created budget committees empowered to establish firm spending and revenue levels for the entire Congress. In theory this was an important reform, since the power of the purse remains as pivotal to understanding the source of governmental decisions today as it always has been. Whether the new budgetary committees will in fact coordinate congressional spending plans remains to be seen.

The conference committee's traditional methods of operating have also come under the scrutiny of Congressional reformers. Coming as it does at the end of the long process of making a law, the closed conference committee was designed to bring members of the House and Senate together to hammer out concessions and compromises which could blend differing versions of a bill into a single measure. However, this system often allowed conferees to produce a final bill that distorted the intents of both original measures.

In recent years congressional reformers have introduced so-called "sunshine" resolutions requiring that conference committees open their doors to the public. Under such pressures, 12 conferences voluntarily opened their sessions to the press and the public in 1974. This year the reform took hold still further when the House and Senate voted to require open conferences unless a majority of the original committee members voted to close them for a special reason.

ELECTORAL REFORMS

The Congress in 1974 also passed, after years of wrangling, an electoral reform law that requires even more complete disclosure of sources for campaign contributions. At the same time, it limits future candidates for the House to spending $168,000, a figure raised in Senate campaigns to $300,000 for the smallest states and $3.5 million for the largest. But whether the bill can affect either the underlying links between money and politics or the dominant pattern of power within American society remains to be seen.

The difficulty with reforms such as the electoral reform law is best illustrated by the complete reversal within the past 15 years in reformers' attitudes toward the President and Congress, as well as toward centralized and local governments. In the early 1960s, when John F. Kennedy's legislative program was stymied by a conservative coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans, reformers viewed Congress as an obstructionist ogre. The President, in turn, was seen as Prometheus bound—a hero in chains, crippled by legislative restraints at every turn in his efforts to exercise leadership.

"We have been too much entranced," one historian wrote in 1963, "by the system of checks and balances and interlocked gears of government that requires the consensus of many groups and leaders before the nation can act." The American fear of leadership must be allayed, critics argued only a decade ago; the President is not strong enough, they said, to lead the nation in the 20th century, and as a result America has fallen far behind Western Europe in modernizing its government and in providing social services to its citizens. Yet today, after a decade of disastrous Presidential actions both at home and abroad, the legislature is the major repository of progressive hope, the brave knight setting out finally to slay the Presidential dragon.

We can see a similar reversal in attitudes toward the role of the central government. In the early 1960s, most liberals agreed that more power should be lodged at the national level. After Vietnam and the Great Society, however "decentralization" became the rallying cry for many reformers, who argued that political life in Washington had become separated from daily life in the states and the localities.

RESTORING THE BALANCE

But the problem of restoring a more effective link between political life in the capital and the daily problems of the American people may prove more complicated than today's popular catch phrase "decentralization" might suggest. Even if it proved possible to withdraw substantial powers from the national government, only to return them to the states and cities—something far from certain at this point—this would simply transfer arbitrary power from one set of insulated leaders to another. Local and state governments themselves, after all, need significant reform.

For many Americans have come to believe that the one basic problem today is that government at all levels— national, state and local—has become overly responsive to the will not of the majority but of the few, to those citizens with money, organization, access and position. Underlying this inequity of resources in the political realm is an even more striking imbalance of economic resources. In 1970, the top 20% of the American people received 41.6% of the nation's income. The bottom 40% received only 17.4%. In the same year one tenth of 1% of the 1,665,000 active corporations owned 58.1% of all assets.

Of the hundreds of thousands of manufacturing corporations, the 100 largest owned nearly half of all the assets. These large corporations determine the use of 90% of the productive capacities of our nation. Only 10% of the Gross National Product passes through the political sector for public choice and decision.

In my view, unless this concentration of economic resources can be dispersed, there is little chance of breaking up political concentrations of power. Priority attention must be given, therefore, to the dispersal of economic power through vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws, redistribution of income, and reform of the tax structure. Only with these changes can we begin slowly to recreate a competitive social context within which American democracy will once more flourish.

Conclusion

Michael E. Parrish

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18. AMERICAN SOCIETY: THE FUTURE OF THE PAST

Michael E. Parrish

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Ordeal of the city.

The American pursuit of individualism has permitted the persistence of poverty amidst affluence.

In America, novelist Thomas Wolfe wrote, "You Can't Go Home Again." Future-oriented, devoted to growth, expansion, and change, Americans have exhibited a curious attitude toward the past. On the one hand, they have perpetually moved to new land, new communities, and new tasks: a nation, as Mark Twain suggested, of Huckleberry Finns, eager to explore the next wilderness, impatient with conventions, traditions, and the status quo. At the same time, few societies display more nostalgia and sentimentality toward their history. Past events, actors, and situations are constantly evoked to measure the extent of national "decay" as well as national "progress." Anxious to escape the present, Americans have still taken to heart the philosopher George Santayana's famous aphorism that "those who do not learn from the past, are doomed to repeat it."

A comparison of the centennial and bicentennial years, Daniel Aaron suggested in the first article of this series, can help us to evaluate a century of national experience and to make some informed guesses about the future.

The centennial years, we have seen, were not happy ones for the country. Grant's administration ended in severe economic dislocation, political scandal, class tensions, and racial strife. Portions of the South remained under military rule, the last vestige of a Reconstruction policy ostensibly designed to protect the civil and political rights of blacks.

In the centennial year itself, the national government came to a virtual standstill from November 1876 to March 1877 during the disputed Presidential contest between Rutherford Hayes and Samuel Tilden. The capital hummed with rumors of conspiracies to subvert the Constitution. Then the crisis passed. With Hayes inaugurated, economic and governmental machinery functioned again. America entered a generation of material growth, meat-and-potato politics, and of business as usual.

A PROLONGED CRISIS?

The national problems of those centennial years differ only in degree from our current economic and political woes: "stagflation," the aftermath of Southeast Asia, Watergate, impeachment proceedings, and the resignation of a President. Have we now passed through another brief, national illness and commenced a new cycle of economic well-being, social tranquillity, and business as usual? Or, rather, are we somewhere adrift in the middle of a more prolonged crisis that will revolutionize American values and institutions?

Despite analogies between centennial and bicentennial years, surely the American experience in the last quarter of this century will be fundamentally different from that of the last twenty-five years of the 19th. Few frontiers remain to be settled. Indians may skirmish with bureaucrats, but not with the U.S. cavalry; and no transcontinental railroads are likely to be built. Small businessmen and farmers show few signs of uniting to overthrow corporate monopolies; and whatever their felt wrongs, Afro-Americans probably will not again endure systematic disenfranchisement and official segregation.

On the other hand, certain American beliefs and practices, present in 1876 and 1976, may well persist through the next generation. They will provide continuity with our past, but function at the same time as major obstacles to reordering our relations with one another, with our society, and with the world. Sources of national vitality, these values and institutional arrangements are also sources of national weakness. At their core is the insistent American pursuit of individual fulfillment, often at the expense of mutual sacrifice and social cooperation.

LIVING APART

In the pursuit of individual fulfillment, we treasure ethnic and cultural pluralism, political federalism, and voluntarism in the belief that they constitute the most important bonds of national cohesion. In large measure this is true, but as the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville noted in the 1830s and as the contemporary historian Robert Wiebe concluded in a recent book, what we call national strength remains, paradoxically, the desire of Americans to live apart from one another in isolated social compartments.

"I see," Tocqueville wrote about this country, "an innumerable multitude of men . . . constantly circling around in pursuit of the petty and banal pleasures with which they glut their souls. Each one of them, withdrawn into himself, is almost unaware of the fate of the rest." America's present social order, Wiebe suggests, remains a collection of separate constituencies—economic, political, ethnic, religious—an interdependent nation, to be sure, but also a land of strangers.

Has not our melting pot been as much metaphor as reality? Anglo and Italian, Slav and Irish, German and

Chinese, black and white, have been affected by a common technology and aspired to consume the same products. But they have attempted, for the most part, to live, marry, procreate, and die within the boundaries of their respective ethnic and religious groups.

Cultural and ethnic pluralism has enlivened our politics and enriched our national literature. At the same time, it has stunted the growth of a collective life through religious intolerance, racial segregation, and ethnic hatred. The intense and narrow social environment which nurtured the genius of William Faulkner also spawned the Ku Klux Klan.

Except in times of extraordinary foreign or domestic crisis, ordinary Americans have successfully resisted the centralization of political authority and the coercion of individuals and groups required to achieve a common purpose. Only radical dissenters, as Alan Barth has reminded us, have suffered extreme repression.

LOCALISM AND VOLUNTARISM

Despite a century of strong Presidents, of Square Deals, New Deals, Fair Deals, New Frontiers, and Great Societies —each in turn enlarging the size and the scope of national authority—we retain our traditional political assumptions: local control, voluntary effort, self-regulation. Let those in our own community staff the draft boards. Entrust private charitable agencies with the task of dealing with natural and man-made catastrophes. Decry "federal power" and a "faceless bureaucracy" while sharing in its various practical benefits—unemployment insurance, food stamps, Medicare, relief payments, and Social Security among them.

Should local solutions and "voluntarism" prove inadequate, then try first to cure the problem at the state level. "One of the happy incidents of the federal system," Justice Louis Brandeis pointed out, was the possibility "that a single courageous State may . . . serve as a laboratory; and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country." Most of the 20th century social reforms, from workman's compensation to no-fault auto insurance, were introduced as *state*, not *national* measures.

Americans have paid a high price for their commitment to individual and local solutions within the federal system. The costs include a chaotic fiscal structure at all levels of government (how much of a program will be paid for by federal funds? how much by the state? how much locally?); inadequate regulation of a polluted environment; unequal welfare benefits; and a long tradition of wasted or duplicated efforts to cope with the general welfare.

Furthermore, claims of local control and 'grass roots democracy' have frequently been asserted to disguise or bolster efforts to protect entrenched groups. 'Self regulation' has often served as an obvious mask for privilege —whether in connection with business interests, labor unions, or the learned professions. Those in control have sometimes managed to cloak the ruthless, the incompetent, and the greedy within their own precincts.

THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

In the United States, so rich in resources and technical ingenuity, the boundaries of opportunity have seemed infinitely expandable, at least in theory. Until recent years, most Americans have not faced up to the serious contradictions in their value system or paid much attention to the limits of abundance, the persistence of poverty. We have not been forced to confront perpetually our basic differences or to think seriously about redistributing economic and social advantages on a basis other than competition. Always, with the exception of the Civil War, there seemed to be enough room or sufficient resources to compromise differences and console the vanquished. Losers, we assumed, could become winners, elsewhere in American time and space.

Such comfortable assumptions are now being put to their severest test in 200 years. How long these unique American values and institutional arrangements can survive in the face of scarce economic resources, pressures for more social planning, and world-wide demands for redistribution will be the principal questions before the next generation. As Doris Kearns pointed out, 20% of the American people reap almost 42% of our annual national income. Less than 6% of the world's population, we consume nearly half the globe's wealth. This is surely the darkest aspect of America's quest for individual fulfillment at home and abroad.

Can we continue to operate and defend a social system that stresses equality of opportunity, but does so at the expense of equality of condition? For that matter, will the rest of mankind tolerate a continuation of our affluent, "imperial" world role except under such military duress as would undermine the strong remnants of belief at home in pluralism, federalism, and individualism? Will it prove possible in the century ahead to avoid the fate of that luckless Vietnamese hamlet whose attackers (Americans among them) declared, in defending the indefensible, that it was necessary to destroy the community in order to save it?

Of course, there is an alternative future: we could as a people, among whom the spirit of generosity and sympathy has not been wholly absent, surrender gracefully a large measure of our own individualism and enter a new stage of social development with each other and with the world, one based upon mutual sacrifice and social cooperation.

COURSES BY NEWSPAPER

AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM I: AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE MAKING

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

Midterm Exam — 1 hour

"The fabric of America has been woven of many strands. Its regions and cultures have been--and stubbornly remain--different."

Discuss the validity of this observation in the light of one of the following:

A) Changing patterns of immigration.
B) Regional differentiation.

Your answer should take account of materials presented in both the newspaper and the book of readings.

Final Exam — 1 hour

"Although the federal Constitution was designed to check the popular excesses and experiments of the Revolutionary movement, it confirmed the boldest and most characteristically American experiment, whereby
'the rulers have become the ruled and the ruled, rulers.'"

Do you agree?
Discuss with particular attention to one of the following:

A) The Bill of Rights
B) The Founding Fathers and the Powers of the President.

Your answer should take account of materials presented in both the newspaper and the book of readings.

AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM MID-TERM EXAMINATION

October 1975

Questions 1-15 are based on newspaper articles and questions 16-30 relate to material in Volume One of the American Issues Forum Reader. Enter all answers on the answer sheet, using a #2 pencil. If you erase, do a thorough job.

1. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) in 1876, at the time of the nation's first Centennial, there was concern about labor unrest, crime, corruption and immorality;
(2) President Grant claimed in 1876 that the United States rivaled Europe in the arts and sciences;
(3) the prevailing national mood at the time of the first Centennial was one of optimism;
(4) the nation was enjoying a period of high prosperity in 1876.

2. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) Americans tend to be idealistic about their religion but not about their political institutions;
(2) the Massachusettts "country party" in the early 18th century stood for local rights;
(3) there was strong resistance to the creation of a genuinely national government at the time of the American Revolution;
(4) characteristically, an ideology predicts the victory, under specified conditions, of its true believers.

3. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the confidence of 19th century Americans in their country's future probably contributed to its rapid westward expansion and economic growth;
(2) Abraham Lincoln qualifies as a man of "pragmatic temper";
(3) the "Freedom" principles of the American Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution, were intended by the authors of these documents to be of universal application and to extend to non-European races;
(4) one of the pitfalls of ideology is that it claims that the values of its adherents should prevail everywhere.

4. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) there was very little mobility in 19th century towns and neighborhoods, with families usually residing in the same homes for decades;
(2) it now appears that American Indians are descended from people who came from northeast Asia to Alaska about 30,000 years ago;
(3) disease killed more American Indians than warfare;
(4) Africans brought to North America had more resistance to disease than the native Indians.

5. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the first New England settlers came seeking to establish farming communities;
(2) colonists who settled in the Southwest at the close of the 16th century lived in small, compact villages;
(3) the early Puritans were efficient village or town organizers;
(4) ownership of land was a major inventive to the first settlers of this country.

6. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the New England communities were so organized as to produce responsible members of society;
(2) many New England settlers quickly acquired large land holdings;
(3) the early Colonial landscapes of the South were widely scattered, isolated settlements near or along the banks of navigable streams;
(4) there were few towns or cities in the South in the Colonial period.

7. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) most of the Southern colonists were plantation owners;
(2) the Old South can be looked upon as the birthplace of the cattle industry in this country;
(3) in Colonial times, the landowner, however poor, generally was considered superior to the townsman;
(4) the introduction of tobacco growing into Virginia led to a sharp increase in population.

8. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the grid system of land division was used in ancient Egypt and ancient Rome;
(2) grid landscapes on a small scale took hold in Colonial America in the mid-18th century;
(3) the "Great Awakening" prompted many people to consider communal life;
(4) a need for privacy and freedom from the community's normal control led many in Colonial times to leave towns and establish themselves on their own farms.

9. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) after the ending of the slave trade, perhaps the most trying time for American blacks was during the period 1890-1940;
(2) by 1850, the Roman Catholic Church had become the largest single religious denomination;
(3) passage of the immigration restriction law of 1924 stimulated migration of blacks from the South to other areas of the nation;
(4) black political power in the South became strong around 1900.

10. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the public school was regarded in the 19th century as the best vehicle for accomplishing the assimilation of the children of immigrants;
(2) German immigrants to the United States in the 19th century aroused more native hostility than did Irish immigrants;
(3) prior to the Civil War, in order to reconcile American practice with traditional American political ideas, it was necessary to believe that non-whites were less than human;
(4) the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution extended its protection to persons of all races.

11. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) prejudice against ethnic and cultural minorities in the early 20th century speeded their efforts to assimilate;
(2) the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school segregation was assimilationist in its implications;

(3) assimilation frequently is a painful process for those who are involved;
(4) the ablest young people in an ethnic group being rapidly assimilated usually are the most resistant to assimilation.

12. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the Constitutional system of checks and balances is an example of political pluralism;
(2) religious pluralism is legitimated by the Constitution;
(3) cultural assimilation slowed down markedly in the 1940s and 1950s;
(4) at the present time, some minority groups are making a strong effort to maintain their cultural identity.

13. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the grid system divided the land into square miles;
(2) every 36 square miles or sections constituted a township;
(3) in every township, section 16 was set aside as a school section;
(4) in every township, sections 24 and 25 were set aside for a town or administrative center.

14. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) during the Civil War Era, the farmers began to think in terms of engineering efficiency and to acquire more mechanical equipment;
(2) the beginning of city planning and zoning were evident by the time of the Civil War;
(3) one of the most profound changes in the last century was the movement away from the family-owned farm to the city;
(4) small farmers who moved to rented houses and factory jobs in cities almost always were less happy.

15. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) within the last century, the ancient Greek conception of individuals as members of the community has been gradually abandoned for the idea of human beings as workers or producers;
(2) ownership of land now is more meaningful in economic terms than in terms of status or self-realization;
(3) the purpose of the new technological landscape is to replace a social or collective relationship with the environment by an individual one;
(4) the automobile and airplane have further alienated man from his connections with the land.

16. Which one of the following statements is false?
The American Indian culture: (1) began about 6000 B.C., earlier in some areas;
(2) was based mainly on big game hunting;
(3) was based mainly on a gathering or foraging economy;
(4) was the basic way of life for some tribes into modern times.

17. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the slave trade was prohibited in the United States beginning in 1776;
(2) small pox was a major cause of death on the slave ships;
(3) during the 17th and 18th centuries, more than half of all European immigrants came to America as servants;
(4) the term of servitude of the class of servants known as "redemptioners" was not specified in advance.

18. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) in 1770, more American Indians than whites lived east of the Alleghenies;
(2) the Indians quickly incorporated such iron-age items as kettles, traps, knives and guns into their material culture during the Colonial period;
(3) the cultivation of tobacco led to an enormous new demand for land in Virginia;
(4) the American Indians were unable to achieve a high measure of unification in their fight against the white settlers.

19. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) Colonial society grew in size and strength in direct relationship to an increase in slaves and a decrease in "land-cluttering" Indians;
(2) colonialists had more respect for Indians than for slaves;
(3) black fertility in colonial times appears to have been close to that of whites;
(4) the fur and skin trade was the second most important industry in the American Colonies on the eve of the Revolution.

20. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) large-scale Irish immigration to the United States during the period 1847-1860 was due mainly to religious persecution;
(2) decline in immigration to the United States from northern Europe after 1880 was due mainly to improve economic conditions in northern Europe and to the end of cheap land in this country;
(3) the immigration restriction law of 1924 favored persons residing in northern Eueope;
(4) the desire to join relatives already in the United States was a major motivation of new immigrants.

21. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) Jews arriving in the United States after 1880 came mainly from Germany and Austria;
(2) Russian Jews coming to this country encouraged their children to take full advantage of its educational opportunities;
(3) most eastern Europe Jews arrived in this country penniless or with little money;
(4) most Jews from eastern Europe settled in the large cities, particularly in those along the Atlantic seaboard.

22. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) Italian immigrants were more likely to return to their country of origin than were Jewish immigrants;
(2) Italian immigrants came mainly from the cities of northern Italy;
(3) most Italian immigrants worked in factories, in mines, on construction gangs, and elsewhere unskilled or semi-skilled labor was needed;
(4) second generation Italian-Americans usually adopted English as their primary language.

23. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) Benjamin Franklin expressed alarm at the size of the German immigration of his day;
(2) the Chinese were the first ethnic group officially excluded from the United States;
(3) the American or Know-Nothing Party of the 1850s had policies directed primarily against Jews from Central Europe;
(4) Emma Lazarus' poem "The New Colossus" was written at a time when Americans were beginning to question the value of unrestricted immigration.

24. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the concept of cultural pluralism was strongly advocated by the Founding Fathers;
(2) cultural pluralism refers to a federation of cultures in which all groups can realize their potentialities and thus enrich the whole;
(3) large numbers of blacks and Chicanos now advocate cultural pluralism;
(4) the concept of the United States as a "melting pot" is incompatible with the concept of it as a nation of many cultures.

25. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the number of American Indians has decreased since the beginning of the 20th century;
(2) the purpose of the Dawes Act was to speed the assimilation of the American Indian into the larger society;
(3) the Indian Reorganization Act encouraged tribal self-government and promoted a revival of Indian cultures and cultural activities;
(4) the present trend is toward a larger voice by American Indians in the determination of policies that affect them.

26. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) as a group, Mexican-Americans occupy the lowest rung of the economic ladder in the Southwest;
(2) one explanation of the origin of the word "Chicano" is that it may have come from the word "Chihuahua";
(3) blacks benefited economically from the restrictive immigration policies which began in the 1920s;
(4) most Afro-Americans today seek full cultural integration into American society as their ultimate objective.

27. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) geographic isolation and slowness of communication were important factors in the political separation of England from her American colonies;
(2) internal communications in colonial America depended upon the river system;
(3) wood was vital to the industrial life of England in the 18th century;
(4) British America was founded chiefly for the purpose of checking the power of the King of Spain.

28. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the California mission system depended upon a more or less servile Indian population to work the land;
(2) the purpose of the Homestead Act of 1862 was to encourage land acquisition by the small, independent farmer;

(3) four homes or farms to the square mile was the general pattern for the rural geography of the Midwest in the second half of the 19th century;
(4) rural villages were more significant in the religious and cultural life of the Midwest in the second half of the 19th century than were the rural villages of northern Europe.

29. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) Bonanza wheat farming in the late 1870s usually was carried on in farms of 160 acres or less in size;
(2) the term "tractored out" refers to loss of farm jobs as a result of mechanization of agriculture;
(3) large scale agriculture first began in California when it was under the rule of Spain;
(4) The Homestead-Act proved unworkable in the semi-arid regions of the West.

30. Which one of the following statements is false?
(1) the growth of the earliest suburbs was facilitated by the introduction of streetcars;
(2) Lewis Mumford has strongly favored expanded use of the automobile over other forms of transportation;
(3) Gottmann refers to the cluster of metropolitan areas of the Northeastern seabord of the United States as a Megalopolis;
(4) Lilienthal contends, writing about the valleys of the world, that what happens on the river is largely determined by what happens on the land.

AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM

ANSWERS TO MID-TERM OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

1. 4
2. 1
3. 3
4. 1
5. 1
6. 2
7. 1
8. 3
9. 4
10. 2
11. 4
12. 3
13. 4
14. 4
15. 3
16. 2
17. 1
18. 1
19. 4
20. 1
21. 1
22. 2
23. 3
24. 1
25. 1
26. 4
27. 4
28. 4
29. 1
30. 2

COURSES BY NEWSPAPER
AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM I
December 1975

final

Questions 1-15 are based on newspaper articles and questions 16-30 relate to material in the American Issues Forum Reader. There is only one correct answer for each question. Enter all answers on the answer sheet, using a #2 pencil. If you erase, do a thorough job.

1. Which one of the following statements is false? The American Indian population: (1) declined from the 17th through 19th centuries mainly because of losses in war; (2) numbered as much as 10 million in the area north of the Rio Grande River in the time of Columbus; (3) has increased since 1900; (4) lived mainly by hunting and gathering before the coming of the white man.

2. Cultural pluralism: (1) reduces ethnic conflict; (2) calls for the "melting pot" approach to the reconciling of group diversity; (3) is a term which is synonymous with the term "assimilation"; (4) has been made to seem more desirable by the rapid advance of "assimilation" in the 1940s and 1950s.

3. Which one of the following statements is true? (1) the early Puritans were good farmers; (2) the colonists who settled the Southwest in the last years of the 16th century lived on vast ranches; (3) most small farmers in the Colonial South were more interested in raising cattle than in commercial agriculture; (4) the South had a well-developed urban culture before the Revolutionary War.

4. Which one of the following statements is true? (1) freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution; (2) after the civil wars of the 1640s in England, absolute sovereignty was transferred from the monarch to the people; (3) the authors of the First Amendment thought that national unity grew out of resolved conflict, not enforced conformity; (4) the threat to freedom of speech has come exclusively from right-wing political elements.

5. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) at the time of the American Revolution, English newspapers were liable to punishment for publishing matter offensive to the authorities; (2) freedom of the press is assured by the First Amendment to the Constitution; (3) the Supreme Court decision in the Near v. Minnesota case held that the due process clause of the 14th Amendment safeguarded the liberty of press and speech from state action; (4) the Supreme Court held in the 1960s that public figures cannot collect damages for libel even if the published statements are untrue, and written maliciously or with the grossest negligence.

6. The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution: (1) protects people against unreasonable searches and seizures; (2) permits entry into private homes without warrants in time of war or civil emergency; (3) permits the police to detain a suspect for up to 72 hours before bringing him before a magistrate; (4) specifically states that evidence obtained by unreasonable search and seizure in state trials is not a violation of the federal Constitution.

7. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) the Civil Rights Act of 1875 declared that all persons are entitled to full and equal enjoyment of inns, public conveyances, and places of amusement; (2) Jim Crow segregation in public facilities was judicially justified on the basis of the "separate but equal" doctrine during the first half of this century; (3) World War II, and the economic and political gains of Blacks as a result of it, strengthened their fight for full equality; (4) the "one man, one vote" doctrine, affirmed by the Supreme Court in the election of state legislatures, increased the power of rural areas.

8. Which one of the following statements is true? (1) appointment to the Supreme Court was highly coveted during Washington's administration; (2) Washington, D.C. was a city of fine houses, paved streets, and affluent living in the early 1800s; (3) average length of service in the House of Representatives was much longer in the early 1800s than it is at present; (4) in 1971 the federal government had more than 5 million employees, almost 7 percent of the labor force.

9. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) George Washington wanted to be called "His Mightiness"; (2) the Founding Fathers' mingled fear of, and desire for, centralized power has shaped the institution of the Presidency; (3) the Articles of Confederation provided for a strong chief executive; (4) early drafts of the Constitution granted Congress sole power to make war.

10. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) turnout of registered voters was higher in the 19th century than in recent years; (2) ticket splitting has been decreasing in the last 50 years; (3) social service and other forms of help at the precinct level were commonplace at the beginning of the 20th century; (4) more than 90 percent of all federal jobs are no longer subject to patronage.

11. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) Watergate and Vietnam brought sharply to public notice the growing concentration of power in the Executive Branch of the federal government; (2) Doris Kearns recommends increase in the power of the Supreme Court as the best way of checking the power of the President; (3) the fragmented committee structure of Congress has weakened its budget planning ability; (4) in the early 1960s many liberals felt that the Presidency lacked sufficient power.

12. Which one of the following statements is true? (1) many 20th century social reforms, such as workman's compensation and no fault auto insurance, were introduced as state, not national measures; (2) President Grant's administration, at the time of the first Centennial, was a period of domestic prosperity and tranquility; (3) 10% of the American people now receive more than half of the national income; (4) Tilden became President in 1876.

13. John B. Jackson, discussing the landscape of ecology, wrote that: (1) the current overall purpose is to replace an individual relationship with the environment by a social or collective one; (2) the Tennessee Valley Authority debilitated the land of Appalachia and caused most of its economic troubles; (3) the influence of the automobile on the environment has been greatly exaggerated; (4) it probably already is too late to achieve a habitable environment for humans in this country.

14. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) the largest mass arrest in U.S. history took place in 1798 when the Alien and Sedition Act was passed; (2) Congress adopted measures restricting freedom of speech and assembly in the years following World War II; (3) a person can be arrested without an arrest warrant if there is probable cause to charge that person with a crime; (4) "privacy" is not specifically guaranteed by the Constitution.

15. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) the "separate but equal" doctrine regarding educational facilities for the "white and colored" races was adopted by the Supreme Court in 1868; (2) the most important single influence in the rise of Black political power after the Civil War was the mass migration that took place in the middle years of the 20th century from rural to urban areas; (3) the Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) was made in reference to the 14th Amendment; (4) the decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka applied only to public schools, but the reasoning behind it applied with almost equal force to other public facilities.

16. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) the concept of group libel is now generally accepted in the laws of most states; (2) in matters of freedom of speech, Jefferson held that the concern should be with deeds, not words; (3) the Schenck v. United States decision in 1919 held that a "clear and present danger" justified the defendant's conviction for anti-war activity; (4) the Supreme Court has consistently rejected government attempts to censor materials before publication, as in its verdict in New York Times Co. v. United States in the Pentagon Papers case.

17. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) in the Johnson v. United States case, involving federal narcotic law violation, the Supreme Court held that a search warrant should have been obtained prior to entry; (2) the Supreme Court decision in the Gideon case guaranteed counsel in state criminal proceedings to indigent defendants; (3) the Supreme Court decision in the Escobedo case requires that an accused person have the right to request counsel of an attorney before police interrogation; (4) the Supreme Court has ruled repeatedly that wiretapping is unconstitutional, even if warrants are obtained in advance by law officers.

18. Which one of the following statements is true? (1) Barry Goldwater, Jr. favors creation of a national data bank using Social Security numbers as the indexer; (2) in the last quarter of the 19th century, Northern Liberals fought hard for the rights of Southern Negroes; (3) the "separate but equal" doctrine, adopted by the Supreme Court at the end of the 19th century, provided the legal foundation for racial segregation; (4) racial segregation in the South declined sharply in the first half of the 20th century.

19. Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) is a Supreme Court case: (1) dealing with teacher tenure; (2) in which the Court upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal facilities" for school children of different races; (3) in which the Court ruled that separate facilities for school children of different races is inherently unequal treatment; (4) concerned with the teaching of evolution in the public schools.

20. Which one of the following is not guaranteed by the Bill of Rights? (1) the right to a speedy and public trial; (2) crual and unusual punishment shall not be inflicted; (3) searches and seizures are permitted only after the issuance of proper warrants; (4) all white males age 21 or over shall have the right to vote.

21. Alexander Hamilton: (1) regarded the judiciary as basically more powerful than the executive and legislative branches of government; (2) believed in a weak federal government; (3) was fearful of rule by the people; (4) opposed permanent tenure for judges.

22. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) Pfeffer claims that the struggle for religious freedom in the United States essentially has been won; (2) English law in 1791, as described by Blackstone, permitted freedom of publication but did not exempt the press from subsequent punishment if printed material was found pernicious by a jury; (3) the Federalists vigorously opposed the Alien and Sedition Acts at the close of the 18th century; (4) Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire (1942) is a case in which the Supreme Court refused to uphold the right of a man to use insulting language.

23. Which one of the following statements is true? (1) Hamilton, at the time of the debate over the ratification of the Constitution, asserted that the proposed powers of the President were about the same as those of George III; (2) President Andrew Jackson held himself aloof from the crowds who came to see him during his travels; (3) Schlesinger alleges that Nixon was attempting to establish a "plebiscitary Presidency"; (4) Jefferson, at the time of the Constitutional Convention, favored a three-man Executive Committee (Speaker of House, President of Senate, Chief Justice of Supreme Court) instead of the office of President.

24. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) the civil rights of women have been expanded by invoking the 14th Amendment to the Constitution; (2) in 1873 the Supreme Court upheld a law forbidding women to practice law; (3) there is no marked difference in the absenteeism rates of employed men and women; (4) most states' unemployment compensation statutes now permit unemployment compensation to women who become unemployed while they are pregnant.

25. Which one of the following statements is false? (1) Eisenhower strongly supported the Warren Court's stand on school segregation; (2) the Supreme Court, in its Brown II decision, laid down the principle of "all deliberate speed" in achieving school desegregation; (3) Senator Sam Ervin, Jr. opposes the Equal Rights Amendment because it would strike down many laws which are advantageous to women, such as those relating to support and military service; (4) Myra Wolfgang believes that the Equal Rights Amendment may achieve "equality of mistreatment."

26. Which one of the following was not a major area of concern of the Warren Supreme Court? (1) school desegregation; (2) reapportionment of state legislatures; (3) criminal "due process" procedures; (4) limitations on campaign expenditures.

27. In your Reader, which one of the following alternatives for conducting foreign affairs received the most support? (1) exclusive Presidential control over foreign affairs; (2) close collaboration between the President and Congress in formulating and carrying out foreign policy; (3) exclusive Congressional control over foreign affairs; (4) creation of a joint House-Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, chaired by the President.

28. Which one of the following statements is true? (1) inter-racial marriages between white men and Indian women were extremely rare during the Colonial period in the South; (2) the fur trade was of major importance in the Virginia economy of the 1620s; (3) the Anglican Church sent hundreds of missionaries to the American colonies to convert the Indians to Christianity; (4) English policy in regard to the Indians was to assimilate them into European culture insofar as possible.

29. In the Reader selection on "The New Colossus," John Higham informs us that: (1) the Statue of Liberty was a gift to America from the people of Great Britain; (2) there was much opposition to mass immigration in the early decades of the 20th century, culminating in the Immigration Act of 1924; (3) Emma Lazarus received national recognition during her lifetime for her poem, "The New Colossus"; (4) the Immigration Act of 1924 still stands as national policy in the area of immigration.

30. The term "Megalopolis": (1) is exemplified by the city of New York; (2) is synonymous with the term "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area"; (3) refers to efforts by city politicians to gain political control over surrounding areas; (4) has been applied to an area along the Northeastern Atlantic seaboard with a total population of about 37 million people in 1960.

Since this is a pioneer course by newspaper, we are attempting to evaluate its effectiveness. The following questions are included for that purpose. Please enter your answers in the appropriate spaces on the IBM answer sheet. You have our firm assurance that your answers will be used for statistical analysis only.

31. Sex: (1) male; (2) female.

32. Age: (1) under 20; (2) 20-30; (3) 31-50; (4) 51-64; (5) 65 or above

33. Previous education (highest level completed): (1) junior high school; (2) high school; (3) some college; (4) college graduate; (5) graduate school

34. Race: (1) Negro; (2) Oriental: (3) American Indian; (4) Mexican or Spanish-American; (5) Caucasian

35. Annual family income: (1) under $10,000; (2) $10,000-14,999; (3) $15,000-19,999; (4) $20,000-24,999; (5) $25,000 or over

36. Main reason for taking this course: (1) enrichment or personal interest; (2) working towards a degree; (3) professional advancement

37. Have you taken any other extension, or continuing education, or adult education courses? (1) yes; (2) no

38. Have you taken any TV, radio or other media courses? (1) yes; (2) no

39. Number of years since your last formal educational experience (including Extension courses): (1) less than 5 years; (2) 5-10 years; (3) 11-15 years; (4) 16-20 years; (5) 21 or more years

40. Size of your area of residence: (1) rural; (2) under 20,000; (3) 20,000-less than 200,000; (4) 200,000-500,000; (5) over 500,000

41. Was the quantity of course materials: (1) too great; (2) about right; (3) insufficient

42. Would you prefer more contact sessions for discussion of issues? (1) yes; (2) no

43. Did this course stimulate your interest in taking other courses (of any kind) in the future? (1) yes; (2) no

44. Have your attitudes concerning the issues treated in the course changed as a result of your taking this course? (1) yes; (2) no

Please use the back of the IBM answer sheet for your comments about the course.

ANSWERS

1.	(1)
2.	(4)
3.	(3)
4.	(3)
5.	(4)
6.	(1)
7.	(4)
8.	(4)
9.	(3)
10.	(2)
11.	(2)
12.	(1)
13.	(1)
14.	(1)
15.	(1)
16.	(1)
17.	(4)
18.	(3)
19.	(3)
20.	(4)
21.	(3)
22.	(3)
23.	(3)
24.	(4)
25.	(1)
26.	(4)
27.	(2)
28.	(1)
29.	(2)
30.	(4)